1608/1502.

FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

BRUTE-CREATION:

WHEREIN

Father *BOUGEANT*'s

PHILOSOPHICAL AMUSEMENT, &c.

IS EXAMINED.

In Two LETTERS to a LADY.

Job. xii. 7, 8. 9. 10. *But ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee.*
Or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee; and the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee.
Who knoweth not in all these, that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this?
In whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath (spirit) of all mankind.

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FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

BRUTE-CREATION, &c.

LETTER I.

MADAM,

I DARE ſay you have made many a merry Reflection upon the good Company and Converſation we lately enjoyed at *B---ton*: for my own part, I can never think of it without laughing. Methinks I hear my little Doctor pouring forth all his Rhetoric and Logic upon an abſtruſe Queſtion, which I was ſure he had not Capacity enough to underſtand. I ſee, and hear, and admire his modeſt Aſſurance, uncapable of Contradiction, affirming without Proof, and concluding without Premiſes, that *all the Animal Functions and Operations of the Brute-Creation* (which different Philoſophers had aſcribed to different Cauſes, ſuch as Mechaniſm, Inſtinct, Subſtantial Forms, &c.) *were entirely owing to the Operation of evil Spirits*, who are the moving Principle in every one of them. As this Thought was quite new to me, and perfectly oppoſite to all the Sentiments I had ever entertained upon that Queſtion, I could not for my life imagine, where he had picked up this new Philoſophy, which had almoſt frighted ſome of the Company out

of their Senſes.---I ſhall never forget the puzzled afflicted Face of the honeſt Juſtice, who, tho' a very good Proteſtant, and in all other reſpects of blameleſs Life and Converſation, had ſpent ſo many Years in following a *Pack of Devils*, which he had innocently miſtaken for a Pack of harmleſs Beagles.---But the whimſical Diſtereſſes of the poor Ladies, gave me no ſmall Diverſion. Sweet Miſs *Jenny*, who has laviſh'd away more Kiſſes upon her favourite Cat, than ſhe would beſtow upon the beſt Man in the Pariſh, felt ſome compunction within herſelf, that ſhe had been wantonly, and almoſt maliciouſly, throwing away thoſe Careſſes upon an evil Spirit, which many a good Chriſtian would have been glad of. Dear Miſs *Harriot* had the ſame regret for her beloved Monkey, and poor *Dolly* for her Parrot; and reſolved, one-and-all, never to hold commerce or correſpondence with evil Spirits for the future, in whatever amiable Shape or Figure they might appear; which, I apprehended, could end in nothing leſs than an intire deſtruction of all the favourite Domeſticks of the Family; whilſt you, with a chearful compoſure of Mind and Countenance, inſeparable from good Nature and good Senſe, ſat ſmiling at the empty Harangue of the Orator, and the fantaſtical Sufferings of the Audience.

Well! home I went, full of this abſurd, unphiloſophical Scheme, wondering how my learned Friend, who, with very moderate Talents, affects to be thought a very great Scholar, and profound Philoſopher, could ever fall into this un-

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uncommon way of thinking. But as I chanced a few days after to ſtrole into a Bookſeller's Shop, I ſpied a little Pamphlet lying upon the Counter, entitled, *A Philoſophical Amuſement, concerning the Language of Birds and Beaſts. Written originally in* French *by Father* Bougeant, *a learned Jeſuit*, &c. I quickly perceived where my learned Friend had pick'd up his new Philoſophy, from what Fountain all this profound Erudition was drawn. The honeſt Man has a very prepoſterous Ambition to be famous; and as he is conſcious that he has no chance to attain any degree of Diſtinction from the proper and regular uſe of his intellectual Faculties, he therefore attempts a nearer cut to Fame, by engaging the Attention of the Unlearned to ſomething that has a new and marvellous Appearance: This has given him an itch after Novelty, and an affection for uncommon Notions, more than common Senſe. No wonder, therefore, he was immediately ſtruck with this ſurprizing Sentiment, which he reſolved to put off at the next Tea-table for his own, aſſuring himſelf, that neither the Ladies, nor myſelf, (whoſe Obſcurity he heartily deſpiſes) ſhould ever find him out, but admire him for a moſt profound Philoſopher. I took my Pamphlet home with me, and read it over and over, with the greateſt Care and Candour; and upon the whole muſt needs ſay, that I ſhould never have ſuſpected the Author (if he had not told us ſo himſelf) to be a *Jeſuit*, much leſs a *Famous Jeſuit*. He has done no credit to his Or-

Order; the Gentlemen of that Society owe him but little Thanks; they generally acquit themſelves much better upon any Subject they undertake. He has treated a noble Subject looſely and ſuperficially, to ſay no worſe; for I might add, idly and profanely; and had I been his proper Superior, I ſhould have changed his Confinement at *La Fleche*, for a more proper Habitation at *Moorfields*.

But this (ſay you) is libelling without Proof, condemning at random: Let us come to Particulars; make good your Charge, ſhew us, if you can, the Defects of his Scheme, and try if you can ſtrike us out a better.

With all my heart, Madam. But before I proceed to a more particular Examination of his Scheme, I muſt freely acknowledge, that there are a great many juſt and ſprightly things ſcattered up and down through his whole Performance; but ſavouring more of the vivacity of the *Frenchman*, than the piety and ſolidity of a Chriſtian Philoſopher. He juſtly and ſmartly ridicules the unintelligible trumpery of Mechaniſm, Inſtinct, ſubſtantial Forms, and what not of the *Ariſtotelian* and *Carteſian* Philoſophy, which, like occult qualities, are hard Words without a Meaning, intended only as a thin diſguiſe for Ignorance and Affectation: But what has he advanced in the room of them? Why, ſomething equally abſurd, but not equally innocent; ſomething ſhocking to a Philoſopher, and offenſive to a Chriſtian, in a direct Contradiction to Reaſon and Revelation, as I ſhall endeavour to make

make appear. Nor is he leſs offenſive in point of Delicacy, his Ideas and Sentiments are often ſo low, his Images ſo indecent, his Expreſſions ſo coarſe, as could hardly be expected from a polite *Frenchman*, and an Eccleſiaſtic to a fine Lady, whom, at the ſame time, he ſeems to conſider as a Perſon of Diſcernment and Diſtinction. Let us now follow him his own way. His firſt Chapter is

Of the Underſtanding of Brutes.

He begins with this Queſtion; *Have Brutes any Underſtanding? I am convinced* (ſays he) *that you well not ſo much as heſitate upon this Queſtion:* fairely preſuming ſhe would anſwer in the Affirmative, and I dare venture to affirm that his fair Correſpondent had not a better Underſtanding than mine, I will venture to preſume the ſame for you. *An Underſtanding* they certainly have of ſuch a kind or degree, at leaſt as is ſufficient for their ſtate and rank in the univerſal Syſtem, and the ſeveral duties and offices for which they were intended by their Creator. Leſs than this I think cannot be ſaid, and who preſumes to ſay more? Though I have known many an honeſt Fellow that made a good figure in his Neighbourhood, who yet has hardly diſcovered more Reaſon, a better Underſtanding, or half ſo much Virtue as the Beaſt he rode on. Take any Man of a plain, natural good Underſtanding without the Prejudices of Philoſophy, and propoſe the ſame Queſtion to him: I dare ſay he would ſtare at you, and think

you

you were bantering him; or if he thought you were in earneſt, he would not ſo much as demur upon it. In ſhort, however we may affect to puzzle our ſelves or others with learned Objections proceeding from downright Ignorance, we all own it, we preſume upon it, as a firſt Principle, we reaſon upon it, and act agreeably, as we make it an unerring Rule to direct us in the Treatment and Management of our domeſtick Animals; this it is that guides us in the education of our Dogs and Horſes, to train them up by Correction and Diſcipline to the ſeveral Offices for which they are intended, and the Services which we expect to receive from them. This it is that directs us to careſs and reward them when they do well, and to correct and puniſh them, when they are vicious and diſobedient. Did we conſider them as meer Machines, as Creatures that had no Senſe, Underſtanding, or Reflection; this Conduct would be as abſurd and ridiculous, as it would be to careſs and reward your Clock or your Watch for going well, or correct and puniſh them with a Whip or Cudgel for going wrong. On the other hand, we diſcover in Brutes plain and evident marks of Senſe and Underſtanding. They are ſenſible what we do to them, and what they do to us. When for inſtance I ſee a Dog haſtening to me when I call him, careſs me when I ſtroke him, tremble when I rate him, run away from me when I beat him: nay, further, when I ſee him reflecting and reaſoning upon my Conduct towards him, I muſt conclude

clude he is acted by ſome higher Principle than meer Mechaniſm. Be pleaſed, Madam, to try this Experiment with your beloved *Veny* (tho' upon ſecond Thoughts he has been too much and to long a Favourite to apprehend any danger from your Hands) or call any other Dog of the Family, whoſe Hunger may make him leap at a good Morſel, ſhew him a Piece of Meat in your Left Hand, and hide your Right Hand behind you, and ſee how he will behave; eſpecially if he knows he has been guilty of a Fault, or been rated or puniſhed for ſome Miſdemeanour. He will either not come near you at all, unleſs urged by the Violence of his Hunger, or approach you with the utmoſt Diffidence and Caution: for thus I hear him reaſoning with himſelf; *Surely, this is not the Hand that uſed to feed me, and why is that other Hand hid from me? That hand, from which I have received many a ſore Stripe, when I have offended, has now, I fear, ſome ſecret Vengeance, ſome Whip, or Cudgel in ſtore for me, if I get within the reach of it; I will therefore prefer the Dog's Portion of Hunger and Eaſe, before Laſhes and Stripes, and broken Bones.* Ay! and he is much in the right, he reaſons well, and diſcovers more Senſe and better Logic, than many a ſtupid Puppy with two Legs, who lives at random, who purſues every Appearance of Pleaſure, gratifies evey Appetite, ſubmits to every demand of Luſt or Fancy, without Thought or Reflection, and ruſhes with his Eyes open into certain Diſeaſes, Beggary and Damnation. Now then if the Senſes

and Perceptions of Brutes be ſo quick and lively, if from thoſe Perceptions they never fail to draw juſt and rational Concluſions, and to make a practical Uſe of them for the preventing Pain, or procuring Pleaſure, if by the different Motions and Geſtures of their Bodies, or Sound of their Voice, they expreſs their different Sentiments of Joy and Sadneſs, of Pain or Pleaſure, of Fear and Deſire, of Love or Hatred; I cannot help concluding from thence, that they have in them ſome Principle of Knowledge and Sentiment, be it what it will. Now, were all the Philoſophers in the World to aſſert and maintain the *Carteſian* Opinion of their being Machines, there is ſome ſtrong inward Conviction in every ſenſible unprejudiced Mind that gives them the lye, tho' we were not able to confute their Aſſertion, nor defend our own; and ſurely nothing but the Vanity of a *Frenchman* could ever expect that ſo abſurd a Scheme could paſs upon a learned World for ſound Reaſon and true Philoſophy. For my own part, I could as ſoon expect to ſee Gallantries between a couple of amorous Clocks or Watches, or a Battle betwixt two quarrelſome Windmills.

The Notion of *Inſtinct*, though not ſo palpably abſurd, is equally obſcure, unneceſſary, and uſeleſs for all the great ends and Purpoſes which it is intended to ſerve. They who uſe it, do not pretend to define it, to ſhew us its real Nature, or wherein it conſiſts, they ſeem only to ſpeak of it as a blind Impetus, and unknown Impulſe; a kind of mechanical Neceſſity, by which we

are

are in a manner compelled to perform ſuch and ſuch Actions, without being able to know or explain the Reaſons for ſo doing. By this, they pretend to account for many wonderful Operations and effects in the almoſt infinite Variety of Species thro' the Brute Creation, ſuch as, for inſtance, all Sorts of Birds building their Neſts in exact Uniformity of Model and with the ſame Materials, all the various Methods of Cure that both Birds and Beaſts have Recourſe to when they are any ways indiſpoſed or wounded; this it is, they ſay, that teaches the Sparrows to purge themſelves with Spiders and other Inſects; this teaches Birds to ſwallow Gravel to facilitate their Digeſtion; this teaches the Dog with a ſurfeited Stomach to run to a particular kind of Graſs to procure a Vomit; to this we owe all the excellent and wonderful Operations to be found among Beaſts and Birds, Reptiles and Inſects; many of which ſeem to exceed the higheſt Improvements of human Reaſon and Invention. But why muſt all this be owing to Inſtinct? Since we cannot refuſe them a knowing Faculty, why ſhould we give them a needleſs Inſtinct? Theſe wonderful Operations may be, for ought we know, the ſimple Effects of their Underſtanding: and ſince it is ſolely in conſequence of a knowing Faculty, that Man performs the ſame Operations, why ſhould not the ſame Pprinciple alſo rule in the Brutes? And where would be the Hereſy of believing or affirming, that thoſe Actions which Brutes are ſuppoſed to perform by meer Inſtinct, are per-

formed in conſequence of their Underſtandings, with Underſtanding and Reaſon? Is ſuch a thing impoſſible? Does either Reaſon or Revelation forbid it? Are they not equally poſſible to their Omnipotent Creator? And can any reaſonable Doubt be made, whether they were not endued with every Perfection that their Rank in the Scale of Beings required? And would it not be a great Imperfection to want the means of knowing and procuring whatever was requiſite in the common Order of Nature, for the Preſervation of the Individuals and the Propagation of the Species? And ſince it cannot be denied that every Species of Beings have that Power, I ſee nothing abſurd or unphiloſophical in ſuppoſing, that the All-wiſe and omnipotent Author of Nature has given each of them ſuch Faculties as are proportionable to their Wants and Capacities, and the part they fill in the univerſal Syſtem. Is there either Abſurdity or Hereſy in ſuppoſing, that the ſame infinite Power that could form the Body of the moſt minute Inſect, with ſuch exquiſite Proportion and Beauty, could at the ſame time, with the ſame Eaſe provide a proper Inhabitant to animate and govern it, and anſwer all the Purpoſes of its Creation? He that can think otherwiſe, muſt have been either a very ignorant or a very indolent Obſerver of Nature. The Scriptures directly call this Knowledge by the Name of *Wiſdom*, Prov. xxx. 24. *There be four Things that are little upon Earth, but they are exceeding wiſe. The Ants are a People not ſtrong, yet they prepare their Meat in the Summer. The*

Conies

Conies are but a feeble Folk, yet they make their Houſes in the Rocks. The Locuſts have no King, yet go they forth all of them by Bands. The Spider taketh hold with her Hands, and is in King's Palaces. Holy *Job* ſuppoſes the ſame thing, that the whole Brute-creation act by Wiſdom and Underſtanding, of ſuch a Kind and Degree as is proper for their State and Condition in the Scale of Beings. Thus *Ch.* xxxix. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. ſpeaking of the *Oſtrich*, he obſerves, that *ſhe leaves her Eggs in the Earth, and warms them in the Duſt, and forgets that the Foot may cruſh them, or that the wild Beaſt may break them. She is hardened againſt her young ones, as though they were not hers, her Labour is in vain without fear, becauſe God hath deprived her of Wiſdom, neither hath he imparted to her Underſtanding.* The Fact is aſſerted by all Travellers, that the Oſtrich leaves her Eggs in the Sand to be hatch'd by the Sun, which unnatural Diſregard for her Offspring is ſo remarkable, that when they ſee a Mother who have little Tenderneſs for her Children, they compare her to an Oſtrich ; to which the Prophet *Jeremiah* alludes in his Book of *Lamentations*, ch. iv. 3. *The Daughter of my People is become cruel, like the Oſtriches in the Wilderneſs.* In ſhort, the Oſtrich is allowed, on all hands, to be a very ſtupid fooliſh Bird, deſtitute of that Prudence and Caution which are viſible in every other Family of Inſects, Birds and Beaſts ; for it is particularly obſerved in her, that when ſhe is purſued by the Hunters, ſhe runs to hide her Head,

Head, and particularly her Eyes, behind a Tree, all the reſt of her large Body is expoſed to View; but as ſhe no longer ſees the Hunter, ſhe wiſely imagines he does not ſee her, and that therefore ſhe has no Danger to apprehend. Now this whole abſurd and ridiculous Conduct, the inſpired Writer aſcribes to her Want of that *Wiſdom*, *Underſtanding* and *common Senſe*, which are to be found in every other Species of Beings, for the Production and Preſervation of their ſeveral Families. *Becauſe God hath deprived her of Wiſdom, neither hath he imparted to her Underſtanding*, v. 17. Were we now to extend our Enquiries to the Polity, Architecture and Oeconomy of Bees and Waſps, and all other the Tribes and Familes of Inſects, we ſhould find them in many reſpects excellent Monitors to the Bulk of Mankind. " * The " Beehive, for inſtance, is a School to which " Numbers of People ought to be ſent. Pru- " dence, Induſtry, and Benevolence, publick " Spirit, and Diligence, Oeconomy, Neatneſs, " and Temperance, are not only practiſed by " them in the moſt exemplary manner, but " ſtrongly recommended to us by their Ex- " ample. Look on a Swarm of Bees, and ob- " ſerve the Diſpoſition that influences every In- " dividual; they all labour for the general Ad- " vantage; they are all ſubmiſſive to the Laws " and Regulations of the Community; there " is no particular Intereſt, and conſequently no " Emulations nor Competitions for Gain or " Glory;

* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* 7. p. 135.

" Glory; no Diſtinctions, but thoſe which Na-
" ture and the Neceſſities of the Family have
" introduced among them. We never ſee them
" diſſatisfied with their Condition, or inclinable
" to abandon their Hive, in Diſguſt to find them-
" ſelves Slaves or neceſſitous. On the contrary,
" they think themſelves in perfect Freedom,
" and perfect Affluence, as indeed they are:
" they are free, becauſe they depend only upon
" the Laws; they are happy, becauſe the Con-
" courſe of their ſeveral Labours inevitably pro-
" duce an Abundance, that conſtitutes the Riches
" of each Individual. Let us compare Human
" Societies with this, and they will appear al-
" together monſtrous. Neceſſity, Reaſon, and
" Philoſophy, have eſtabliſhed them under the
" commendable Pretence of mutual Aids and
" Benefits; but a Spirit of Selfiſhneſs deſtroys
" all; and one half of Mankind, to load them-
" ſelves with Superfluities, leave the other half
" deſtitute of the common Neceſſaries of Life."
In ſhort, upon the ſtricteſt and cloſeſt Enquiry we can make into the ſeveral Tribes of Families of the Brute-Creation, it will appear, that they are all directed and act by ſome Principle analogous at leaſt, and equivalent to what we call Underſtanding in ourſelves; and why we ſhould call it by any other Name in them, I confeſs I am at a loſs to determine. If then the ſeveral Species of Brutes do by the Strength of their own Underſtandings, think, reaſon, project, contrive, and perform every Office within their proper Sphere of Life and Action

in

in a juſt and due Proportion to what we do in ours, they muſt be allowed to have ſome immaterial Principle with them, in which theſe Faculties are inherent, and by which they are directed. Now, to my poor Apprehenſion, Underſtanding without a Soul, and a Soul that is not a Spirit, appears quite as abſurd as Light without Flame, or Flame without Fire; the one I think naturally ſuppoſes and includes the other.

The great Mr. Locke, in his *Eſſay on Human Underſtanding*, lib. 2. cap. 11. allows that Brutes have Ideas, and that they reaſon, though they are not capable of comparing and comprehending theſe Ideas, and reaſoning abſtractedly, as we do. *Yet* (ſays he) *if they have any Ideas at all, and are not mere Machines, as ſome would have them, we can't deny them to have ſome Reaſon. It ſeems to me as evident, that they do in ſome Inſtances reaſon, as that they have Senſe; but it is only in particular Ideas, juſt as they received them from their Senſes.*---Juſt as they received them from their Senſes!---Why, how, ſhould it be elſe? What is the Foundation of our Reaſon, but thoſe particular Ideas we receive from our Senſes? Ideas are Images, excited or impreſſed upon the Soul by external Objects, thro' the Mediation of the Senſes; and the enlarging, comparing, and combining theſe Ideas, and forming practical Concluſions from them, is the whole Province of Human Reaſon. This philoſophical Limitation of the Underſtanding of Brutes, ſounds a little aukwardly from this great

great Man, becauſe he has allowed the moſt exalted human Underſtanding no better Materials to work upon. He has very juſtly exploded the Notion of innate Ideas, and has by conſequence left us nothing but thoſe which we receive by Senſation, to be the Ground-work of our moſt refined Speculations. Why then will he not allow the ſame uniform Effect to be produced by the ſame uniform Cauſe in both? Why does he take ſo much Pains to perſuade himſelf and us, that Rationality in Brutes muſt proceed from a quite different Cauſe, from what it does in ourſelves? What is he afraid of? What would be the terrible Conſequences of ſuch a Conceſſion? For my own part, I think I ſee none, but what your own excellent Underſtanding will, with a little Recollection, eaſily evade, without the leaſt violence either to Reaſon or Revelation. He concedes, indeed, to the main Point, and allows the Rationality of Brutes; but, for fear of allowing them immaterial, and conſequently immortal Souls, he frequently inſinuates, that Thought, Rationality, or Reflection, is not the abſolute Privilege of immaterial Beings, but may be communicated by the Power of God to certain Portions of Matter, differently modified, and conſequently that Matter exalted to a certain degree of Purity, may be as capable of Reaſon and Reflection, as an immaterial Spirit. And in his Diſpute with the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who juſtly charged him with this unphiloſophical Notion, he was reduced to a neceſſity of aſſerting it in plain and expreſs Terms, and of putting all his Philo-

ſophy to the utmoſt Stretch, to reconcile it to Reaſon and common Senſe; which, I humbly conceive, is abſolutely impoſſible. Yet he frequently and directly aſſerts the Poſſibility of thinking Matter, allowing to his material Animal Senſe, Perception, Reaſon, ſpontaneous Motion or Volition, which, one would imagine, that nothing but Vanity, an Itch of Singularity, or a Deſire of Victory, could ever have extorted from ſo great and excellent a Perſon: and I cannot paſs it by without ſome little Examination, for which I ſhall offer at no Apology to a Lady of your inquiſitive Genius, and ſuperior Underſtanding, directed ſolely by Reaſon and the Nature of Things without the Prejudices of vulgar Errors, or the Subtilties of Philoſophy, falſely ſo called.

The moſt obvious Idea we have of Matter, is *of an extended impenetrable, ſolid Subſtance, uncapable of moving itſelf, or of being moved, but by the Agency and Impreſſion of ſome ſuperior, external, active Cauſe*; from whence it will unavoidably follow, that mere Matter, however modified, exalted, or purified, will be as uncapable of Self-motion, as it was in its loweſt ſtate of Denſity, or Depreſſion; and conſequently cannot, by any Power, be tranſmuted, or ſublimated into a living, ſelf-moving Subſtance; from whence it follows, that all Gravity, Attraction, Elaſtricity, Repulſion, and whatever Tendencies to Motion are obſerved in Matter, and commonly called natural Powers of Matter, are not Powers implanted in Matter or poſſible

to be made inherent in it; but are entirely owing to ſome Impulſe, or Force impreſſed upon it from external Cauſes. And the moſt that can be ſaid, is, that Matter is indeed ſuſceptible of Motion, or capable of being moved, but that the Motion itſelf muſt proceed from ſome external Cauſe, totally diſtinct from, and ſuperior to Matter. Mr. *Locke*, therefore, had very little Reaſon to be ſo peremptory in his Diſpute with the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, about the Poſſibility of thinking Matter; where to prove it poſſible, he ſays, Vol. II. p. 144. Edit. 1715. *for example, God creates an extended ſolid Subſtance, without ſuperadding any thing elſe to it, and ſo we may conſider it at reſt; to ſome parts of it he ſuperadds Motion, but it has ſtill the Eſſence of Matter. Other parts of it he forms into Plants, with all the Excellencies of Vegetation, Life, and Beauty, which is to be found in a Roſe or a Peach-tree, above the Eſſence of Matter in general, but it is ſtill but Matter: To other parts he adds Senſe, or ſpontaneous Motion, and thoſe other Properties that are to be found in an Elephant. Hitherto it is not doubted but the Power of God may go; but if we venture to go one Step farther, and ſay, God may give to Matter Thought, Reaſon, and Volition, as well as Senſe and ſpontaneous Motion, there are Men ready to limit the Power of the Omnipotent Creator, and tell us he cannot do it; becauſe it deſtroys the Eſſence, or changes the eſſential Properties of Matter*, &c. Well! and a very good Reaſon it would certainly be; for Omnipotence itſelf cannot produce Impoſſibi-

lities, cannot effect Contradictions, cannot make the ſame Thing to be, and not to be, at the ſame time; cannot make a Subſtance, which, as ſolidly extended, muſt reſiſt all Change of State, become (while it continues unactive and dead) Life, Senſe, and ſpontaneous Motion; for that is directly affirming, that the ſame Portion of Matter, which is unactive, dull, and dead, may be at the ſame time living, ſenſible, and ſpontaneouſly moving. To ſay the Truth, his Zeal to ſupport his Argument, and confound his Advarſary, his thrown him into ſuch Inconſiſtencies of Thought and Expreſſion, as could never have proceeded from cool and ſober Reaſon. For Inſtance, where he ſays above, *To ſome parts of Matter, God ſuperadds Motion, but it has ſtill the Eſſence of Matter.* What does he mean by ſaying, *It has ſtill the Eſſence of Matter?* Does he mean, that Motion has the Eſſence of Matter, or is eſſential to it, or a Mode of it: Neither of theſe could be his Meaning; he could only mean, that that Portion of Matter to which Motion is ſuperadded, has ſtill the Eſſence of Matter. Who doubts it? And therefore is intirely diſtinct from the Motion ſuperadded, which is really and truly nothing leſs than an Emanation or Impreſſion from the Original and Eternal Fountain of Life and Power; and, conſequently, intirely diſtinct from Matter. If Solidity, Inactivity, and Reſiſtance, be the eſſential Properties of Matter, it will unavoidably follow, that all thoſe Effects commonly aſcribed to certain natural Powers reſiding in Matter, are immediately produced by the Power

er of an immaterial Being, who firſt created this dead Subſtance Matter, originally impreſſed, and ſtill continues to impreſs Motion upon it. Now whatſoever begins Motion where it was not, and ſtops it where it was, that effects a Change from Reſt to Motion, and from Motion to Reſt, and that arbitrarily, can never be Matter, whoſe eſſential Property it is neceſſarily to reſiſt all Change of its State, either of Reſt or Motion. I therefore conclude, that whatever Principle or Being can arbitrarily effect a Change of the preſent State of Reſt or Motion, in that Portion of Matter which compoſes the Body of any Animal, cannot be the Matter of the Body itſelf, which neceſſarily reſiſts or oppoſes all change of its preſent State, and therefore muſt be concluded to be an active, immaterial, and ſpiritual Subſtance, which, without any violence or Philoſophy, we may venture to call a Soul. Pardon me, Madam, for leading you into this intricate dry Speculation; my Subject led me into it, and required ſome little Examination in this Place. Some further Conſiderations upon this Subject, and the Reverend Father's Contrivance to account for all animal Functions and Operations, without allowing them to have Souls, we ſhall defer to a more proper Place, and proceed to the next Head of Enquiry.

II. *Of the Neceſſity of a Language between Brutes.*

By Language we are not only to underſtand a Sequel of articulate Sounds, by which Men have

have agreed to expreſs their Ideas and Sentiments to each other, but any ſort or kind of inarticulate Sounds, Geſtures, or Motions, by which, in the ſeveral Tribes and Families of the Brute-creation, the Individuals communicate their Sentiments, their Wants, their Deſires to each other: and theſe are, no doubt, as different as the Species themſelves, and as expreſſive and ſignificant to them as our moſt articulate Sounds can be to us. Of this there can be no manner of doubt, eſpecially among thoſe that live in ſociety, as particularly Pigeons, Rooks, Swallows, and Storks among Birds; Bees and Ants among Inſects; and particularly the Beavers among Beaſts; and no doubt but there muſt be the ſame among Fiſhes, thoſe eſpecially which at certain Seaſons remove in Shoals to different parts of their Element. All, and each of theſe, ſpeak, undoubtedly, a Language proper and peculiar to their Species, which are as expreſſive and intelligible to them, as our Language is to us; and may, not improperly, be called the different Dialects of the Language of Nature.

Our Author, in the midſt of his Inquiry, has dropp'd an Expreſſion which I cannot underſtand, as having no apparent relation to his Subject, or any Connection with what goes before, or follows after. *Page* 27, he ſays, *Angels ſpeak to each other, yet have no Voice.* How bold, how crude, how unphiloſophical is this Expreſſion? Have Angels a Voice to ſpeak to us, and none to ſpeak to one another? Did he never read of the Converſation of Angels with the Patriarchs

triarchs and holy Men of the *Old Teſtament?* Of the Angel *Gabriel* delivering a Meſſage from God to *Zacharias*, concerning the Birth of *John* the Baptiſt, *Luke* i. and another to the Bleſſed Virgin, concerning the Incarnation of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt? Did he never read of *the Voice of the Archangel.* 1 Theſſ. iv. 16? If he only means, that they have not a Voice like us, articulate by the Organs of the human Body, and different Modulations of the Air; who diſputes it? But is this ſufficient to juſtify him in ſaying they have no Voice? Does he allow a Voice, or ſomething equivalent to it, to the loweſt Orders of Brutes and Inſects, and will he allow none to the higheſt Orders of intellectual Beings? How ſurprizing, how unaccountable is this? Surely he had as mean an Opinion of the good Senſe of the fine Lady to whom he was writing, as he had a good one of his own. But to return:

He obſerves, very juſtly, that we have a thouſand ways of expreſſing our Paſſions, our Sentiments, our Hopes and Fears, our Deſires and Wants, our Joys, or Sufferings, without the Mediation of Words. *When we are pleaſed* (ſays he, pag. 23.) *every thing in us ſpeaks: Do we not continually ſpeak by certain Looks, by a Motion of the Head, a Geſture, nay the leaſt Sign in the World?* Ay! and when we are diſpleaſed or angry, we can as eaſily make ourſelves underſtood by Looks and Geſtures, as by the plaineſt and moſt expreſſive Language. How often have I ſeen thoſe lovely Eyes of yours rebuking, with un-

unutterable Eloquence, the aſſuming Coxcomb, and the malicious Prude, into Silence and good Manners? How many melting Addreſſes have you received from the Eyes of your languiſhing Admirers, who had neither Courage nor Merit enough to addreſs themſelves in any other Language? In ſhort, languiſhing modeſt Lovers reſemble a Nation or Society of dumb People, who are never at a Loſs for a Set of ſignificant Looks, Motions and Geſtures, to ſupply the Want of Words, and Defect of other Expreſſions; and which from a Language as expreſſive and intelligible to them, as the moſt articulate Language in the World can be to other People. Now can any one reaſonably doubt, whether the brute Animals have the Power and Means of doing the ſame? It is, I think, undeniable, that they have all a knowing Faculty; but to what purpoſe can we ſuppoſe the all-wiſe Author of Nature has given them this Faculty, but to enable them to provide for their Wants, their Preſervation, and whatever is fit for their Condition, and ſuitable to their peculiar kind of Life he has appointed for them. Let us moreover, conſider that many Species of Birds, Beaſts, and Inſects are made to live in Society at large, and others to live in a kind of domeſtic Society, male and female cohabiting together, in a kind of Family, for the Education of their young ones. Now, do but conſider what Uſe could the firſt Species make of their Underſtanding, for the Preſervation and Welfare of their Society, and of courſe for their own peculiar Good, ariſ-

ariſing from the publick Proſperity, if the Members of that Society have not among themſelves a common Language perfectly known to every one of them? What Uſe could they make of their Knowledge and Underſtanding, if they had not ſome Method of communicating their Knowledge, Advice, and Aſſiſtance, to each other? If they could not underſtand, or be underſtood by each other, they could neither give nor receive any Comfort, Aſſiſtance, or Help from Society, and without ſuch a Communication it would be abſolutely impoſſible for ſuch a Society to ſubſiſt; in a Word, no more Communication, no more Society.

For the better Underſtanding the Neceſſity of this Communication, let us take a nearer View of thoſe particular Families among the Beaſts, Birds, and Inſects, that ſeem moſt to want and to uſe it, thoſe I mean that live in Society. Among the Beaſts, we will particularly conſider the Beaver, who for his ſingular Sagacity, Patience, Induſtry, and Skill in Architecture, ſeems to excel all the quadruped Family. * "The Beaver, is a Creature particularly re-
" markable for the Uſe made of his Skin, but
" moſt of all, for the Dexterity with which
" he builds his Habitation. The Beaver, whe-
" ther male or female, has four Bags under his
" Inteſtines, impregnated, with a reſinous and
" liquid Subſtance, which when it is ejected,
" ſettles into a thick Conſiſtence, of which he
" makes a ſingular uſe in the building his Ha-

" bitation.

* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* 12. *p* 77.

" bitation. The Phyſicians call it *Caſtor*, and
" preſcribe it as an excellent Remedy againſt
" Poiſons, Vapours, and other Indiſpoſitions;
" when it grows old, it blackens and degene-
" rates into a dangerous Poiſon. He is fur-
" niſhed with three very uſeful Implements for
" building, his Teeth, his Paws, and his Tail.
" His Teeth are ſtrong and deeply riveted into
" his Jaws, with a long and crooked Root;
" with theſe he cuts, as well the Wood for his
" building, as that which furniſhes him with
" his Food. His Fore-feet reſemble thoſe of
" ſuch Animals as hold what they eat in their
" Paws, as Apes for inſtance, Rats, and Squir-
" rils; with theſe Feet, he digs, ſoftens, and
" works the Clay, which is extremely ſervice-
" able to him. His Hind-feet are accommo-
" dated with Membranes, or large Skins be-
" tween his Toes like thoſe of Ducks, and o-
" ther Water-fowl. His Tail is long, a little
" flat, entirely covered with Scales, ſupplied
" with Muſcles, and perpetually lubricated with
" Oil or Fat. This Animal, who is an Archi-
" tect from his Nativity, uſes his Tail inſtead of
" a Hod, for the Conveyance of his Clay or
" Mortar, and a Trowel to ſpread and form it
" into an incruſtation; the Scales prevent theſe
" Materials from penetrating the Tail with
" their Cold and Moiſture; but the Scales as
" well as the Tail would be injured by the Air
" and Water, if it were not for the Prevention
" of an Oil, which he diſtributes all over them
" with his Snout; and the four Bags I have

" men-

" mentioned, are undoubtedly the Magazine of
" this Fluid.

" The Beavers inhabit the ſame Manſion in
" great Numbers, unleſs violent Heats, or In-
" undations, the Purſuits of Hunters, Scarcity
" of Proviſions, or an extraordinary Increaſe of
" their Offspring oblige them to ſeparate. In
" order to fix their Settlement, they chuſe a Si-
" tuation that abounds with Proviſions, and is
" waſh'd by a Rivulet, where they may form
" a convenient Reſervoir of Water for their
" Bagnio. They begin with Building a Mole
" or Cauſey, in which the Water may raiſe to
" a level with the firſt Story of their Habitati-
" on. This Cauſey at the Foundation may
" contain ten or a dozen Feet in thickneſs: it
" deſcends in a ſlope on the Side next the Wa-
" ter, which in proportion to its Elevation gra-
" vitates upon the Work, and preſſes it with a
" ſtrong Tendency towards the Earth. The
" oppoſite Side is raiſed perpendicular like our
" Walls, and the Slope, which at its Baſis is
" twelve Foot broad, diminiſhes towards the
" Top, whoſe breadth does not exceed two
" Feet. The Materials of this Work are Wood
" and Clay. The Beavers with admirable Fa-
" cility cut the Pieces of Wood as thick as
" one's Arm, others as large as one's Thigh,
" and from two to four, five, or ſix Foot in
" length; and ſometimes more, in proportion
" to the Aſcent of the ſlope: They drive the
" Extremity of theſe very near each other into
" the Earth, and take care to interlace them

" with other Stakes more ſlender and ſupple.
" But as the Water without ſome prevention
" would glide through the Cavities, and leave
" the Reſervoir dry, they have recourſe to a
" Clay, which they preſently know how to
" procure, and with it they cloſe up all the In-
" terſtices both within and without; and this
" entirely prevents all Evacuation; they con-
" tinue to raiſe the Dyke proportionable to the
" Water's Elevation and Plenty. They are like-
" wiſe very ſenſible, that their Materials are not
" ſo eaſily tranſported by Land as by Water,
" and therefore take the Opportunity of its in-
" creaſe to ſwim with Mortar placed on their
" Tails, and Stakes of Wood between their
" Teeth, to every Place where they have oc-
" caſion for thoſe Materials. If the Violence
" of the Water, or the Foot-ſteps of Hunters,
" who paſs over their Work, damage it in any
" degree, they immediately repair the Fracture,
" viſit all the Edifice, and with indefatigable
" Application refit and adjuſt whatever hap-
" pens to be diſconcerted; but when they are
" too frequently perſecuted by the Hunters,
" they only work in the Night, or elſe diſcon-
" tinue their Labours.

" When the Cauſey or Dyke is compleated,
" they begin to form their Cells, which are
" round or oval Apartments, divided into three
" Partitions, raiſed one above another; the firſt
" is ſunk below the level of the Dyke, and ge-
" nerally full of Water; the other two are form-
" ed above it. They raiſe this Structure in a very

" ſolid

" ſolid manner on the edge of their Cauſey,
" and always in Stories, that in caſe the Wa-
" ter ſhould aſcend, they may remove to a
" higher Situation ; if they find any little Iſland
" near the Reſervoir, they fix the Dwelling
" there, which is then more ſolid, and they
" leſs incommoded with the Water, in which
" they are capable of continuing but a ſhort
" time : but if they are not favoured with this
" Advantage, they drive Stakes into the Earth
" with their Teeth, to fortify the Building a-
" gainſt the Winds and Water. At the bottom
" they ſtrike out two Openings to the Stream ;
" one conducts them to the Place where they
" bathe, and which they always keep very de-
" cent ; the other is a Paſſage to that quarter,
" where they carry out every thing that would
" ſoil or rot the upper Apartments. There is
" a third Aperture much higher, calculated to
" prevent their being ſhut up, when the Ice
" has cloſed the Openings into the lower Lodg-
" ments. They ſometimes build their Houſe
" intirely on the dry Land, and ſink Ditches
" five or ſix Feet deep, in order to deſcend to
" the Water. They employ the ſame Mate-
" rials and Induſtry in the Structure of their
" Dwelling, as they uſe for their Cauſey. The
" Walls of the Building are perpendicular, and
" two Feet thick. As their Teeth are more
" ſerviceable than Saws, they cut off all the
" Projections from the Wood, that ſtand out
" beyond the Perpendicular of the Wall, after
" which they work up a mixture of Clay and

" dry

" dry Graſs, into a kind of Mortar, with " which, by the Aid of their Tails, they " rough-caſt the out and inſides of the Work.

" The Edifice is vaulted within like the " handle of a Baſket, and generally riſes in an " oval Figure. The Dimenſions are propor- " tioned to the number of the intended Inha- " bitants. Twelve Feet in length, and ten in " breadth are ſufficient for eight or ten Bea- " vers; if the number increaſes, they enlarge " the Place accordingly. It has been aſſerted " for a Truth, that there have been found a- " bove four hundred of theſe Creatures in dif- " ferent Lodgments communicating with one " another. But theſe popular Societies are " very rare, becauſe they are too unmanage- " able and tumultuous, and the Beavers are " generally better acquainted with their own " Intereſts. They aſſociate to the number of " ten or a dozen, and ſometimes a few more; " they are a ſet of amicable and ſagacious In- " habitants, in whoſe mutual Society they may " propoſe to ſpend the Winter together in a " very agreeable manner; they are gifted with " a natural Arithmetick, which enables them " to proportion the Place and Proviſions to the " Neceſſities of the Company; and as it is cuſ- " tomary for every Individual to continue in " the conſtant Poſſeſſion of his own Cell, they " never charge themſelves with unneceſſary " Expences for any accidental Gueſts.

" There are ſome Beavers called *Terours*, " who make their abode in Caverns dug in a " riſing

" riſing Ground, either on the Shore or at ſome
" diſtance from the Water, to which they ſcoop
" out ſubterranean Trenches from their Ca-
" verns, which deſcend from ten to an hun-
" dred Feet in depth. Theſe Trenches furniſh
" them with retreats ſituated at unequal heights,
" and wherein they enjoy a ſhelter from the
" Water when it aſcends. Their Beds are
" made of Chips, which ſerve them inſtead of
" a Quilt; and of Graſs, which accommodates
" them in the nature of a Feather-bed.

" All theſe Works, eſpecially in the cold Re-
" gions, are compleated in *Auguſt* or *Septem-*
" *ber*; after which Period, they furniſh them-
" ſelves with Proviſions. During the Summer
" Seaſon they regale themſelves with all the
" Fruits and Plants the Country produces. In
" the Winter they eat the Wood of the Aſh,
" the Plane, and other Trees, which they ſteep
" in Water, in Quantities proportionable to
" their neceſſary Conſumption; and they are
" ſupplied with a double Stomach, to facilitate
" the Digeſtion of ſuch a ſolid Food at two
" Operations. They cut Twigs from three to
" ſix Feet in length; the large ones are con-
" veyed by ſeveral Beavers to the Magazine,
" and the ſmaller by a ſingle Animal: but they
" take different ways, each Individual has his
" Walk aſſigned him, to prevent the Labourers
" from being interrupted by their mutual Oc-
" caſions. The Dimenſions of their Pile of
" Timber are regulated in proportion to the
" number of the Inhabitants; and it has been
" obſerved,

" obſerved, that the Proviſion of Wood for ten " Beavers, comprehended thirty Feet in a " ſquare Surface, and ten in thickneſs. Theſe " Parcels of Wood are not piled up in one con- " tinued Heap, but laid croſs one another, with " Interſtices between them, that they may the " better draw out what Quantity they want, " and always take the Parcel at the bottom, " which lies in the Water: they cut this Wood " into ſmall Particles, and convey it to their " Cells, where the whole Family come to re- " ceive their particular Share. Sometimes they " expatiate in the Woods, and regale their " young with a new Collation. The Hunters, " who are ſenſible that theſe Creatures love " green Wood better than old, place a Parcel " of the former about their Lodge, and then " have ſeveral Devices to enſnare them. When " the Winter grows ſevere they ſometimes " break the Ice, and when the Beavers come " to the opening for the Benefit of the Air, " they kill them with Hatchets, or make a " large Aperture in the Ice, and cover it with " a very ſtrong Net, and then overturn the " Lodge; upon which the Beavers, who think " to eſcape in their uſual way by flying to the " Water, and emerging at the Hole in the Ice, " fall into the Snare, and are taken."

Among the Birds let us take a View of the different Tribes of thoſe which are particularly called Birds of Paſſage, who paſs in great Bodies or Flocks from one Climate to another; ſome ſeeking for a cold, others a hot, others a tempe-

temperate Region: ſuch particularly as Qualls, Swallows, Wild-Ducks, Plovers, Woodcocks, and Cranes *. In the Spring, the Quails paſs from *Africa* into *Europe*, to find a more tolerable and moderate Summer than they could enjoy in the Country from whence they came. Toward the cloſe of Autumn, they return over the Mediterranean to obtain in *Barbary* and *Egypt* a gentle heat, correſpondent to the Climates they abandoned, when the Sun was on the other ſide of the Equator. They take their flight in Troops, that ſometimes reſemble Clouds; they frequently cover Ships, and the Sailors take them without difficulty.

As for the Swallows, it was uſually thought that they croſſed the Seas at the different Seaſons of the Year, but it is much more probable that in theſe *Northern* Countries, they conceal themſelves in the Caverns of the Earth, riveted to one another with their Claws and Bills. They flock to Places unfrequented by Men, or even bury themſelves in the Water; the Precaution they take to lubricate their Feathers with their own Oil, and to roll themſelves up like a Ball, preſerves them in the Water, and even under the Ice. They are there benumbed, and paſs the whole Winter without Motion. The Heart however has a conſtant palpitation, and the Warmth revives them at the return of the Spring; they then reviſit their former Habitations, and each Individual finds out his own Country, and even his particular City, Village, and Neſt.

* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* 11. p. 48, 49, 50.

As to Wild-Ducks and Cranes, both the one and the other, at the approach of Winter, fly in queſt of more favourable Climates: They all aſſemble at a certain Day, like Swallows and Quails, they decamp at the ſame time, and 'tis very agreeable to obſerve their Flight; they generally range themſelves in a long Column like an I, or in two Lines united like a V reverſed. The Duck or Crane who forms the Point, cuts the Air and facilitates a Paſſage to thoſe that follow; but he is charged with this Commiſſion, only for a certain time, at the concluſion of which, he wheels about in the Rear, and another takes his Poſt. It is very common, but yet a very ſurprizing Obſervation, to ſee how regularly the Swallows meet upon a certain Day, in order to depart all together, and every Circumſtance of their Journey has ſomething in it almoſt miraculous in their Progreſs over Seas and Kingdoms, one knows not which to admire moſt, the force that ſuſtains them in ſo long a Paſſage, or the order in which the whole is accompliſhed. Who acquainted their Young, that it would ſoon be neceſſary for them to forſake the Land of their Nativity, and travel into a ſtrange Country? Why do thoſe who are detained in a Cage, expreſs ſo much Diſquietude at the Seaſon for the uſual Departure, and ſeem to be Afflicted at their Inability to join the Company? What particular Bird charges himſelf with the Care of aſſembling a Council, to fix the Day of their Removal? Who ſounds the Trumpet to inform the Tribe of the Reſolution taken, that each Party may be prepared?

red? Whence have they their Almanack to inſtruct them in the Seaſon and Day when they are to be in motion? Are they provided with Magiſtrates and Officers to preſerve the Diſcipline which is ſo extraordinary among them? For not one of them diſlodges till the Proclamation has been publiſh'd, and not a Deſerter is ſeen on the Day that ſucceeds their Departure. Have they Charts to regulate their Voyage by? Are they acquainted with the Iſlands where they may reſt, and be accommodated with Refreſhments? Are they furniſhed with a Compaſs to guide them infallibly to the Coaſt they would ſteer to, without being diſconcerted in their Flight by Rains or Winds, or the diſmal Obſcurity of many Nights? or are they endued with a *Reaſon ſuperiour to that of Man*, who has not Courage to attempt ſuch a Paſſage, without a Multitude of Machines, Precautions, and Proviſions? Where would be the Danger or Abſurdity of aſcribing all this to *Reaſon? A Reaſon* limited and circumſcribed within the narrow Bounds of their own Sphere. *A Reaſon* ſufficient to direct them to the Means of preſerving and increaſing their ſeveral Families, and anſwering the ſeveral Ends of their Being, and the Purpoſes of their Creation. *A Reaſon not ſuperior to that of Man*, becauſe the *Reaſon of Man* is vaſt and comprehenſive, taking in the whole Compaſs of Nature, looking forwards and backwards into Eternity; whereas the Sphere of Action allotted to Brutes, is contracted into a very narrow Compaſs, and confined to a few

Articles of Life and Action; in which too, perhaps, the exquiſite Structure of their Organs, and the Tenuity and Purity of their Juices and animal Spirits, not corrupted, or impaired by Luxury, and Intemperance, may, poſſibly, give them a conſiderable Advantage over the greater part of the Human Species. But more of this in its proper Place.

Let us next deſcend to the various Tribes of Inſects, which, tho' vile and contemptible in their Appearance, yet each of them in their ſeveral Ranks and Stations proclaim aloud the infinite Wiſdom and Power of their Creator. Their Variety, their Diſpoſitions, their Sagacity, their Policy, their Induſtry, the wonderful Proportion of their Organs, the Delicacy of their Structure, and a thouſand other Curioſities obſervable in every Species, are matter of infinite Delight and Pleaſure to a curious and inquiſitive Genius; but were we able to examine them in a nearer View, could we be capable of knowing the direct Purpoſes of infinite Wiſdom in their Creation, the Relation they bear, and the harmonious Proportion they ſtand in to the univerſal Syſtem, it would afford us infinite matter of Aſtoniſhment and Surprize, as well as of religious Reverence and Adoration to their Omnipotent Creator. Small and contemptible as they appear to us, they are really formed with the moſt exquiſite Symmetry, the moſt delicate Proportion. Vulgar Prejudice may conſider them as the Effect of Chance, and the Refuſe of Nature; but an attentive Eye, aſſiſted by the help

help of Microſcopes, diſcovers in them aſtoniſhing Marks of infinite Wiſdom, which, far from neglecting them, has been particularly careful to cloath, arm, and accommodate them with all the Inſtruments and Faculties neceſſary to their Condition. This it is * that has arrayed them, even to a degree of Complaiſance, by laying out ſuch a Profuſion of azure, green, and vermillion, Gold, Silver, and Diamonds, Fringe, and Plumage, upon their Robes, their Wings, and the Ornaments of their Heads. We need only behold the Ichneumon, *Spaniſh* Dragon, and Butterfly, nay, a Caterpillar itſelf, to aſtoniſh us with this Magnificence. The ſame infinite Wiſdom, which has been ſo liberal in their Ornaments, has completely armed them for making War, and aſſaulting their Enemies, as well as defending themſelves. The generality of them are provided with ſtrong Teeth, a double Saw, a Sting with two Darts, or vigorous Claws, and a ſcaly Coat of Mail, for the Defence of their whole Body. The Safety of the greateſt part of them conſiſts in the Agility of their Flight, by which they eaſily avoid the Danger that threatens them: Some by the Aſſiſtance of their Wings, others by a Thread that ſupports them, when from the Leaves on which they live, they throw themſelves at a diſtance from their Enemy; and others by the Spring of their Hind-feet, whoſe Elaſticity immediately launches them out of the reach of Danger, and when they are deſtitute of Force, Stratagem,

* Spectacle de la Nature. *Dial.* i. *p.* 7, 8.

Stratagem, and Cunning, ſupply the want of the common and ordinary Means of their Preſervation.

This is very wonderful; but our Wonder increaſes, when we attentively conſider the different Organs and Implements with which each of them work in their ſeveral Profeſſions: Some ſpin, and have a couple of Diſtaffs, and Fingers to form their Thread; others make Nets and Lawn, and for that purpoſe are provided with Shuttles, and Clues of Thread. There are ſome who build in Wood, and are therefore ſupplied with two Bills for cutting their Timber. Others make Wax, and have their Shops furniſh'd with Rakers, Ladles, and Trowels. Moſt of them have a Trunk, more wonderful for its various Uſes than the Elephant's, and which to ſome ſerves for an Alembic for the diſtillation of a Syrup Man can never imitate; to others it performs the Office of a Tongue; many employ it as a Drill for piercing, and the generality of them uſe it as a Reed for Suction. Several, whoſe Heads are fortified with a Trunk, a Saw, or a couple of Pincers, carry in the other extremity of their Body an Augur, which they lengthen and turn at diſcretion; and by that means dig commodious Habitations for their Families in the Heart of Fruits, under the Bark of Trees, in the Subſtance of Leaves or Gems, and frequently in the hardeſt Wood itſelf. There are few who have excellent Eyes, but have likewiſe an additional Benefit of a couple of Horns, or *Antennæ*, that defend them;

and

and as the Animal moves along, eſpecially in the dark, make a trial of the Way, and diſcover by a quick and delicate Senſation, what would defile, drown, or endanger them; and if they find thoſe Horns moiſtened by any offenſive Liquor, or bend by the Reſiſtance of a ſolid Body, the Animal is warned of the Danger and turns another way. Now all theſe Motions, even of the minuteſt Animals, however accidental or capricious they may appear to us, are as really directed to a certain end, as thoſe of the largeſt Beings: we ſhall find all the Sagacity and Cunning we admire in a Fox, for chuſing himſelf an advantageous Kennel, providing for himſelf and his Family the Neceſſaries of Life, and avoiding the Snare of the Gin, and the Perſecution of the Hunter: The ſame Induſtry with which we ſee a Bird build itſelf a convenient Neſt, provide for the Subſiſtence of itſelf and Young-ones, and elude the Snares of the Fowler; you will find the ſame Care, the ſame Sagacity, actuating the ſmalleſt Inſect for the Preſervation of itſelf and its minute Poſterity. The Parent is ſeldom, or never, deceived in the natural Choice of Means for its own Preſervation, or the Security and Education of its young-ones. Diſſolve a Grain of Pepper in Water, you may diſcover, by the help of a Microſcope, Worms of an incredible Smallneſs, ſwimming in the Fluid. The Parent, who knows this to be their proper Nouriſhment, never lays her Eggs in any other Place. Look through a Microſcope at a Drop of Vinegar, there you will diſcover

cover a numberleſs of little Eels, and never any other Animals, becauſe one particular Creature knows, that Vinegar, or the Materials that compound it, is proper for her Family, and therefore depoſits them either in that Matter, or in the Liquor itſelf, and no where elſe. * In thoſe Countries where the Silk-worm feeds at large in the Fields, her Eggs are only to be found on the Mulberry-tree: 'tis eaſy to ſee what Intereſt determines her to that Choice. You will never find upon a Cabbage any Eggs of the Caterpillar that eats the Willow; nor ſee upon the Willow the Eggs of any Caterpillar who feeds upon Cabbage. The Moth ſeeks for Curtains, Woollen Stuff, dreſs'd Skins, or even Paper, becauſe its Materials are Fragments of Cloth, which have loſt the bitter Flavour of Hemp, by the working of the Paper-mill. In ſhort, every Species of Animals, from Man the Lord of the Creation, to the minuteſt Inſect that the naked Eye, or the Microſcope can diſcover, act with Regularity and Uniformity, with all the Marks of Wiſdom, Sagacity, and Prudence, within their ſeveral Spheres of Action, for the Preſervation of their Being, the Propagation of their Species, and anſwering the ſeveral Ends and Purpoſes of Providence in their Creation, and the Rank which they hold in the Syſtem of Nature.--- But what am I doing!---Pardon me, Madam, my Purſuit of this copious and delightful Inquiry, has led me off from the main Queſtion I pro-

* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* i. *p.* 19.

I propoſed to conſider, which was, the Neceſſity of ſome Language, ſome Means of communicating the Sentiments, Wants, Inclinations, and Deſires of the Individuals of every Society and Family, in order to conſult and provide for the Safety and Happineſs of the whole. The mutual Wants of Society, the Care and Education of a Family, muſt be in ſome ſenſe, and to a certain degree, the ſame in all Societies and Families of Birds and Beaſts, Reptiles and Inſects, as well as of Men; and without ſome kind of Language, ſome Method of Communication, thoſe Wants could never be known, nor thoſe Neceſſities effectually ſupplied. All Creatures, therefore, that live in Society, who divide the ſeveral Duties and Offices of that Society among the Individuals, who appoint to every Member their diſtinct Offices, their peculiar Poſts, their particular Provinces, muſt of neceſſity have ſome Language, be it what it will, ſince, without this Help it is quite impoſſible for any Society to ſubſiſt. Now, tho' all Animals do not incorporate in large Societies, yet all have Families, domeſtic Engagements, Cares, and Neceſſities, which require mutual Help and Aſſiſtance, and by conſequence a certain Language, by which their mutual Wants, Inclinations, and Neceſſities may be diſcovered and made known to each other; ſo that every Species of Animals ſeem to have the ſame want of a Language, of ſome kind or another, as thoſe which live in great Societies: for as all Societies are but Aſſociations of Families or

Individuals, whatever infers the Neceſſity of a Language in one caſe, infers it equally in all.

It would be hard to aſſign a Reaſon why Nature, or rather the all-wiſe Author of Nature, who always acts uniformly, ſhould deny ſome of them a Privilege he has granted to the reſt. It is a general Obſervation that all the Productions of Nature are uniform, that as ſhe is ſparing in Superfluities, ſo ſhe is rather profuſe in things neceſſary, and upon the whole does nothing in vain: but is it not neceſſary that a Couple of Animals, joined to form a Houſhould and Family together, a Couple of Birds, for inſtance, ſhould be able to underſtand, and mutually to impart their Sentiments and Thoughts to each other? Let us return to the old Suppoſition of two People abſolutely dumb, living together in the ſame Houſe, without the Aſſiſtance of any other Perſon; I defy the Union to ſubſiſt, if they have no means left of agreeing about their Affairs, and expreſſing their mutual Wants and Neceſſities. Two Sparrows, two Foxes, two Whales, will lie under the ſame Impoſſibility of living together; and all the Inconveniencies of the dumb Society I have mentioned, will be ſeen in their reſpective Families: In a word, the Neceſſity of a Language between a Huſband and his Wife, to enable them to live together, upon which human Societies ſubſiſt, is, in due degree, the ſame in all the Species of Beings below them, in every Tribe and Family of the Brute-creation *. Could it be ſuppoſed, that there

* Philoſoph. Amuſement, p. 36, 37, &c.

there were any Race of Animals in the Univerſe capable of producing their Kind in abſolute Solitude, without the Intervention of a different Sex, it muſt be confeſſed the Faculty of Speech to them would be quite a uſeleſs Talent: but wherever two Beaſts, or two Birds, ſhall ſtand in an habitual Need of each other, and form among them a laſting Society, they muſt of neceſſity ſpeak to each other. How is it to be conceived, that in the Gallantry of their firſt Addreſſes to each other, their mutual Concern and Vigilance for each other's Welfare, and the neceſſary Cares that attend the Education of their Families, they ſhould not have a thouſand things to ſay to each other? It is impoſſible, in the order of Nature, that a Sparrow, or a Turtle that is fond of his Mate, ſhould be at a loſs for proper Expreſſions to diſcover the Tenderneſs, the Jealouſy, the Anger, the Fears he entertains for her in the ſeveral Incidents of Life that muſt ariſe betwixt the moſt loving Couple, in the courſe of a long Cohabitation. He muſt ſcold her when ſhe plays the Coquet, he muſt bully the Sparks that make Attempts upon her Virtue, he muſt be able to underſtand her when ſhe calls to him; he muſt, whilſt ſhe is aſſiduouſly ſitting upon her Brood, be able to provide Neceſſaries for her, and know diſtinctly what it is ſhe wants or calls for, whether it be ſomething to eat, or Materials to repair her Neſt; in all which, a Language, of ſome ſort or other, is abſolutely neceſſary.

Our Author reaſons ſo pertinently and conſiſtently upon this Head, that I ſhall chuſe to give you the two or three following Paragraphs in his own Language.

" Many Beaſts, one will ſay, have not a ſettled and permanent Houſhold like Birds, (for by-the-bye, Birds are the moſt perfect Model of conjugal Conſtancy and Fidelity:) this I very well know, and their Number is even very great. Such are Dogs, Horſes, Deer, and almoſt all Quadrupeds, Fiſhes, and Reptiles. But I ſhall always inſiſt upon a Principle, granted and acknowledged as certain; Nature is too much like herſelf in Productions of one and the ſame Genius, as to have put between Beaſts ſo eſſential a Difference, as that of Speaking, or not Speaking at all, would be. Upon this Principle it is, that though we hardly know the Seeds of Coral, of Muſhrooms, of Truffles, or Fern, we are nevertheleſs perſuaded that theſe Plants proceed from Seeds, becauſe it is the manner in which Nature produces all the reſt. Let us then conclude, that if Nature has given to Beaſts (or Animals) living in Society, and in a Family, the Faculty of Speaking; ſhe has doubtleſs beſtowed the ſame Advantage on all the reſt. For we are not now upon thoſe accidental Differences which Nature loves to diverſify in the different Species of the ſame Genius: there are not, perhaps, in the whole World two Faces perfectly alike; but yet all Men have a Face. There are among

" the

" the ſeveral Species of Animals Differences
" ſtill greater: ſome have Wings, others have
" Fins, ſome Feet and Legs; the Serpents have
" none of theſe: but all Animals have the
" Faculty of moving and tranſporting them-
" ſelves wherever they pleaſe, according to
" their Wants. Among Animals there are ſome
" that ſee and hear more or leſs perfectly; but
" yet they all hear and ſee. It is the ſame
" thing with the Faculty of Speech: this Fa-
" culty, perhaps, is more perfect in the Beaſts
" which live in Societies and form Families;
" but it being in ſome, we muſt believe it to
" be in all of them, but more or leſs perfect,
" according to their reſpective Wants.

" It is even obſervable, that the Animals
" who live neither in Society, nor in a ſettled
" Family, yet have in each Species a ſort of
" Commerce or Society among themſelves.
" Such are the Quadrupeds, the Fiſhes, the
" Reptiles, the Birds themſelves independently
" of their Houſhold, as Starlings, Partridges,
" Ravens, Ducks, and Hens. Now what Ad-
" vantage could theſe Creatures have by endea-
" vouring to live in Society one with another,
" if they did it not for mutual Aſſiſtance, and
" reciprocally to have the Benefit of their
" Knowledge, Diſcoveries, and of all the Helps
" they can afford each other; and how could
" they do ſo, if they do not underſtand one
" another? All the Arguments I have already
" uſed to prove, that the Creatures which live
" in Society muſt have a Language, here again

" find

" find their Place and their whole Energy.
" All the Difference muſt be only in the De-
" grees of *Plus* and *Minus*; and if we judge of
" this only by Matters of Fact, perhaps there
" is no difference at all.

" The Wolves, for inſtance, hunt with great
" Skill, and together contrive warlike Strata-
" gems. A Man croſſing a Frith, ſaw a Wolf
" who ſeemed to be watching a Flock of Sheep.
" He informed the Shepherd of it, and adviſed
" him to cauſe the Animal to be purſued by
" his Dog: I ſhan't be ſuch a Fool, replied the
" Shepherd; the Wolf yonder is there only to
" divert my Attention, and another Wolf who
" is working on the other ſide, only watches
" the Moment when I ſhall ſet my Dogs upon
" this to ſnatch one of my Sheep from me.
" The Man who was paſſing by, willing to be
" ſatisfied of the Fact, promiſed to pay for the
" Sheep; and the thing happened, juſt as the
" Shepherd ſaid it would. Does not a Stra-
" tagem ſo well concerted evidently ſuppoſe
" that the two Wolves had agreed together,
" one to ſhew, and the other to hide himſelf?
" Now how is it poſſible to agree in this man-
" ner without the help of Speech?

" A Sparrow finding a Neſt that a Martin
" had juſt built, ſtanding very convenient for
" him, poſſeſſed himſelf of it. The Martin
" ſeeing the Uſurper in her Houſe, call'd for
" help to expel him. A thouſand Martins came
" full ſpeed and attack'd the Sparrow: but the
" latter being covered on every ſide, and pre-
" ſenting

" ſenting only his large Beak at the Entrance
" of the Neſt, was invulnerable, and made the
" boldeſt of them, who durſt approach him,
" to repent their temerity. After a Quarter
" of an Hour's Combat, all the Martins diſ-
" appeared. The Sparrow thought he had
" got the better, and the Spectators judged
" that the Martins had abandoned their Un-
" dertaking. Not in the leaſt. Immediately
" we ſaw them return to the Charge; and
" each of them having procured a little of that
" temper'd Earth, with which they make their
" Neſts, they all at once fell upon the Spar-
" row, and incloſed him in the Neſt to periſh
" there, tho' they could not drive him thence.
" Can you imagine, Madam, that the Martins
" could have been able to hatch and concert
" this Deſign all of them together, without
" ſpeaking to each other?

" Wonders are recounted by Travellers of
" the Monkeys, when they go a plundering;
" a Troop of Soldiers when they go a Forrag-
" ing, cannot march in greater Order, or with
" more Precaution. I could mention, and
" you can eaſily recollect a thouſand other In-
" ſtances of the ſame Nature; but this would
" require a Volume, and I aim only at ſupport-
" ing my Argument. Men hitherto have al-
" ways made uſe of theſe Inſtances to prove
" that Beaſts have a knowing Faculty; and they
" have been in the right ſo to do, becauſe it
" is really inconceivable, that Beaſts can do ſuch
" ſingular Actions without Knowledge, but we

" have

" have not ſufficiently examined into the Me-
" rits and Bottom of this Queſtion; for if it be
" abſolutely impoſſible for Beaſts to perform
" theſe Actions without ſpeaking, we are more-
" over obliged to conclude, that they have a
" Faculty of ſpeaking to each other. Now,
" Madam, I would beg of you here to obſerve,
" that this is not an Opinion or Syſtem foun-
" ded upon mere Conjecture or probable Ex-
" plications, but an Argument ſupported by
" ſenſible and palpable Facts; I ſay ſenſible Mat-
" ters of Fact, ſuch as theſe I have juſt been
" alledging, and a thouſand others of every
" Kind. Enter into a Wood where there are
" a Parcel of Jays, the firſt then that ſees you
" gives the Alarm to the whole Troop. Mag-
" pyes, Blackbirds, and almoſt all the feather'd
" kind do the ſame. Let a Cat but ſhow her-
" ſelf upon the top of a Houſe, or in a Garden,
" the very firſt Sparrow that perceives her ex-
" actly does what a Centinal does among us,
" when he perceives an Enemy; he by his
" cries warns all his Companions, and ſeems
" to imitate the Noiſe of a Drum beating a
" March. See a Cock near his Hen, a Dove
" near the Female he is courting, a Cat fol-
" lowing his Mate, there is no end of their
" Diſcourſes, till there is an end of their Court-
" ſhip. But there is one important Reflection
" yet behind, which, in my Opinion, is little
" leſs than Demonſtration. We every Day
" ſpeak to Beaſts, and they underſtand us very
" well. The Shepherd makes himſelf under-

" ſtood

" ſtood by his Sheep, but particularly by his " Dog that attends him. The Cows under- " ſtand all the Milkmaid ſays to them. Many " a profound Converſation paſſes betwcen the " Sportſman and his Dogs; the Groom and his " Horſes; the Lady and her Parrot; Miſs and " her Cat; we ſpeak to them all, and they " underſtand us; they in their turn ſpeak to us, " and we underſtand them. How much more " probable is it, that they ſpeak to and under- " ſtand each other! for with regard to them, " we can ſpeak no other than a foreign Lan- " guage; and if Nature has enabled them to " ſpeak a foreign Language, how can ſhe have " refuſed them the Faculty of ſpeaking and " underſtanding a Natural one? This can " hardly be conceived.

" But tho' we ſhould allow Underſtanding " and Language to the ſeveral Species of Beaſts, " Birds, and Inſects; What ſhall we do with " the Fiſhes and Reptiles; What can we ſay " for them? Has Nature been as bountiful to " them as the reſt, muſt we allow them to " have Speech and Underſtanding? Can " they underſtand and converſe with each " other? Can we imagine a Converſation " betwixt two Fiſhes, two Ants, or two " Worms? The Birds indeed ſing, the Dogs " bark, the Wolves howl, Sheep bleat, Lions " roar, Oxen low, Horſes neigh; this every " body hears and knows: but who ever heard " the Language of a Fiſh, or the Converſa- " tions of Worms and Caterpillars? What-

" ever Difficulty there may be in hearing or
" explaining their Language, I think there can
" be but little in apprehending they have one,
" upon the ſame general Principles laid down
" before; and ſince there is a ſtrong Preſump-
" tion that all other Species have it, as ariſing
" from the Neceſſity of their Nature; the Pre-
" ſumption ſeems equally ſtrong for them as
" for the reſt. But the Difficulty lies in be-
" ing able to know and diſtinguiſh it, part of
" them live in an Element forbidden to us,
" and many of the others eſcape our Sight by
" their Smallneſs. But how do we know that
" Fiſhes have not as many, and perhaps, more
" vocal Expreſſions than the Birds themſelves?
" They all of them ſeem to be formed upon
" the ſame Model? Some fly, others ſwim;
" but flying and ſwimming are one and the
" ſame Motion, the Difference is only in the
" Element. We are told in the Book of *Ge-*
" *neſis*, ch. i. v. 20. that God created at the
" ſame time both Fiſhes and Fowls from the
" Boſom of the Waters. Fiſhes have five Sen-
" ſes as well as Birds and other Animals, and
" why ſhould they not have the Faculty of
" Speaking as well as the reſt? It is true, we
" cannot hear them ſpeak or ſing, but it is per-
" haps for want of proper Organs to hear them.
" The Water is thoroughly penetrated with
" Air which the Fiſhes breathe, Why may
" they not with that Air, and by means of a
" Spring equivalent to the Tongue and Throat,
" from Vibrations and Sounds too nice and de-
" licate

" licate for our Ears, but which are eaſily heard
" and underſtood by their own Species? The
" Ear of Man is extremely coarſe, which is
" the reſult of a neceſſary Providence; for were
" our Ears ſenſible of the minuteſt Vibrations
" of the Air we live in, we ſhould be for ever
" ſtunned with a thouſand confuſed Noiſes,
" which would never permit us to diſtinguiſh
" any one of them. There are then certainly
" in the Air many Sounds which we do not
" hear; ſuch as for inſtance, the Noiſe of a Silk-
" worm gnawing a Mulbery-leaf; if he is a-
" lone, or there are but few of them together,
" no body can hear them: but put a certain
" Number of them in a Cabinet, and then all
" thoſe little Noiſes joined in Uniſon, become
" mighty ſenſible to our Ears. How much
" more is it poſſible, that there may be in the
" Water Noiſes inſenſible to us, and that Fiſhes
" may by that Means ſpeak, without being au-
" dible to us: at leaſt I delight in thinking ſo,
" not to rob any part of the Creation of thoſe
" Perfections which Nature uſes to beſtow on
" all: Nor could I think, without a kind of
" philoſophical Melancholy, that ſhe has doom-
" ed to eternal Silence, innumerable Nations,
" which inhabit the Immenſity of the Seas and
" Rivers. Silence is the Portion of the Dead;
" Speaking inlivens the Living themſelves.
" You may laugh, and be as merry as you
" pleaſe upon my ſpeaking Fiſh, as doubtleſs
" he was laughed at that firſt mentioned a fly-
" ing Fiſh, and yet the one may chance to
" prove as true as the other.

" The Reptiles and Inſects are juſt in the " ſame Caſe. There are many kinds of Rep- " tiles which have many diſtinct vocal Expreſ- " ſions; ſuch as Serpents, Frogs, and Toads: " and conſequently, arguing upon the Principle " of the Uniformity of Nature, we are intitled " to ſuppoſe an Equivalent in the reſt; not to " mention ſupplemental Meins, Looks, and Ge- " ſtures. It is not quite ſo with the Inſects: " There is no Species of them, that we know " of, that has vocal Expreſſion, properly ſo " called: The Cry of the Cricket, the ſing- " ing or chirping of the Graſhopper, the Noiſe " of certain Butterflies, and the humming of " Flies, are not properly vocal Sounds, but " Noiſes cauſed by the trembling of a Mem- " brane. But what of all that? It cannot be " doubted, but that the Cry of the Cricket " and Graſhopper, ſerves them to call each o- " ther in order to meet, and, very likely to " converſe. It may be thought that the hum- " ming of the Flies likewiſe ſerves them to " know each other in every Society, either by " the Uniformity of or Uniſon of the Tone, or " imperceptible Differences not within our " reach, which may be equivalent to vocal Ex- " preſſions, and is at the ſame time a Proof, how " Nature, always uniform as to what is gene- " ral and eſſential, is, at the ſame time, ingeni- " ous in varying the Means and Particulars of " her own Productions. Now, what Nature " has done for ſome Inſects, ſhe has certainly " done for all.

" There

" There is, for inſtance, a particular Sort of " Spiders, which have a very ſingular Method " of teſtifying to each other their Deſire of be- " ing together. The Spider that wants Com- " pany, ſtrikes, with I know not what Inſtru- " ment, againſt the Wall or Wood where ſhe " has ſettled, nine or ten gentle Blows, nearly " like the Vibrations of a Watch (which there- " fore the ignorant and ſuperſtitious call a Death- " watch) but a little louder and quicker ; after " which ſhe ſtays for an Anſwer : if ſhe hears " none, ſhe departs the ſame by Intervals for " about an Hour or two, reſuming this Exer- " ciſe, and reſting alternately Night and Day. " After two or three Days, if ſhe hears no- " thing, ſhe changes her Habitation, till ſhe " finds one that anſwers her. It is another Spi- " der that anſwers her exactly in the ſame man- " ner, and, as it were, by Eccho. If the latter " likes the Propoſal, the Converſation grows " briſker, and the beating becomes more fre- " quent. Give Attention to it, and you will " find by the Noiſe that they gradually ap- " proach each other, and that the Beatings " come at laſt ſo cloſe, that they are confound- " ed, after which you hear no more Noiſe ; " very likely the reſt of the Converſation is " whiſper'd. I have oftentimes amuſed my " ſelf in making the Eccho of a Spider, " which I have heard beating, and whoſe " Noiſe I imitated, and ſhe anſwered me punc- " tually ; ſhe ſometimes even attacked me, and " began the Converſation : I have often given

" that

" that Diverſion to ſeveral People, and made " them believe it was a familiar Spirit.

" How many like Diſcoveries might we " make upon Inſects, if our Organs were deli- " cate enough to ſee and perceive their Airs and " Motions, to hear their Voices, or what Nature " has allotted them inſtead of Voices, I make " no doubt, but we ſhould find in Ants, Bees, " Worms, Scarabæus's, Caterpillars, Palmer- " Worms, Mites, and all the Inſects, a Lan- " guage deſigned for their Preſervation, and " the ſupply of their Wants. And as there are " certain Species of Inſects, in which we ob- " ſerve greater Induſtry and Knowledge than " large Animals, it is not improbable that they " have likewiſe a more perfect Language in " proportion, always confined however to the " Neceſſaries of Life."

Thus far I have tranſcribed almoſt intirely from the ingenious Author, who upon this Head talks more like a Philoſopher, than in any other part of his Work. But were we now to enter into a minute Examination of the various Labours, the indefatigable Application, the publick Spirit, the regular Policy, the exact Oeconomy of the ſeveral Families of Inſects, Bees, Ants and Waſps in particular, of which you find moſt ſurprizing Accounts in *Spectacle de la Nature*, and other learned Writers, it would be very hard to account for them, any otherwiſe than by allowing ſome mutual Means of Communication betwixt the Individuals of each Society, which we may ven-

ture

ture to call a Language, or ſomething analogous to it; and why ſhould we be afraid of allowing this, when we conſider, that even the moſt inarticulate Sounds are a kind of Language to ſome part of the Creation or other; nay, I may venture to add, even to ourſelves. Do not the Drum and Trumpet ſpeak to the Soldier? Does not every muſical Sound ſpeak to ſome part of our Nature? How are we excited by ſome to martial Rage and Fury, ſoften'd by others into jovial Mirth and Pleaſures and diſſolute Luxury; and melted by others into the tendereſt Sentiments of Pity any Compaſſion, and ſometimes even into Tears? Nay, the moſt diſcordant and grating Sounds have a Power over us; they make diſagreeable Impreſſions, and excite painful Senſations in us; they diſcompoſe and diſſipate the Spirits, they ſeem to curdle the Blood, like Acids thrown into Milk, they enfeeble the whole nervous Syſtem, they ſpread a Trembling thro' our Joints, and Paleneſs over our Faces, and make the ſtouteſt Heart to tremble. Mr. *Collier*, has ſomewhere in his Eſſays, carried this Thought ſo far as to fancy, that ſuch a Concert of diſcordant Sounds, or Anti-muſic, might be compoſed, as ſhould ſink the Spirits, ſhake the Nerves, curdle the Blood, and inſpire Deſpair, Cowardice, and Conſternation into all that hear it. *'Tis probable* (ſays he, Part II. page 24.) *that the roaring of Lions, the warbling of Cats and Screech-Owls, together with a Mixture of the howling of Dogs*, (to which I could add ſome other Sounds, which

which I tremble to think of) *judiciouſly imitated and compounded, might go a great way in this Invention:* And propoſes it as a very uſeful Improvement for the military Service, to ſtrike a Terror and Panic into an Enemy; not conſidering, that the Performers in this infernal Concert, and their Friends about them, would be in more Danger than the Enemy, who would be further removed from the diſcordant Sounds, and conſequently from the terrible Impreſſion.--This by-the-bye.----But in general we may venture to affirm with the Apoſtle, *That amongſt that almoſt infinite Variety of Sounds and Voices that are to be heard thro' the whole Creation, there is not ſo much as one without its Signification.* 1 Cor. xiv. 10.

Well! Madam, thus far, I think, our Author and we are pretty well agreed, that Brutes have *Underſtanding* to know and expreſs their Wants, and provide for their Neceſſities; and a *Language*, or ſomething equivalent to it, to demand and give mutual Advice and Aſſiſtance. Here, I think, we muſt make a Stand, we can go no further: their Language, however known to them, is quite unknown to us; but could we converſe with them in their own Language, as our renown'd and ingenious Countryman Capt. *Lemuel Gulliver* did with the Nation of the *Houhynnims*, we might then perhaps have Reaſon to agree with him, that they think and act more rationally, have more Senſe, more Honour, and more Virtue, are better Philoſophers, and deeper Politicians, than ſome of the fineſt

Folks

Folks in *Great-Britain*.---The only Difference now between us is, how to account for theſe ſurprizing Faculties, that they are not the Effects of mere Matter and Motion; that they vaſtly exceed all the Powers of Mechaniſm, he readily confeſſes, and ſo I think muſt you and I. But ſpiritual Powers and Faculties, without a ſpiritual Subject to which they belong, and in which they reſide, is a ſhocking Abſurdity. Well, and how does he get rid of this Difficulty? You ſhall hear him, Madam, in his own Words, Page 10. *Reaſon* (ſays he) *naturally inclines us to believe that Beaſts have a ſpiritual Soul; and the only thing that oppoſes this Sentiment, is the Conſequences that might be inferred from it. If Brutes have a Soul, that Soul muſt be either Matter or Spirit, it muſt be one of the two; and yet you dare affirm neither. You dare not ſay it is Matter, becauſe you muſt then neceſſarily ſuppoſe Matter to be capable of Thinking; nor will you ſay that it is Spirit, this Opinion bringing with it Conſequences contrary to the Principles of Religion; and this, among others, that Men would differ from Beaſts, only by the Degrees of* Plus *and* Minus, *which would demoliſh the very Foundations of all Religion. Therefore, if I can elude all theſe Conſequences, if I can aſſign to Beaſts a ſpiritual Soul, without ſtriking at the Doctrines of Religion, it is evident that my Syſtem, being moreover the moſt agreeable to Reaſon, is the only warrantable Hypotheſis. Now I ſhall, and can do it with the greateſt Eaſe imaginable. I even*

have means, by the ſame Method, to explain many very obſcure Paſſages in the Holy Scripture, and to reſolve ſome very great Difficulties, which are not well confuted. This we ſhall unfold in a more particular Manner.

And, in good truth, Madam, you will find the *Matter as particular as the Manner.* An Hypotheſis, ſo wild and unphiloſophical, ſo contrary to Reaſon and Scripture, ſo ſhocking to common Senſe, delivered with ſuch an aſſuming Air, and ſuch dogmatical Language, could ſurely proceed from nothing but an Exceſs of Vanity, or Contempt of his fine Lady's Underſtanding. But I ſhall detain you from it no longer, but give you as ſhort and plain a View of it as I can; and, as near as poſſible, in his own Words.

Page 11. *Religion teaches us, that the Devils, from the very Moment they had ſinned, were reprobate, and that they were doomed to burn for ever in Hell; but the Church has not as yet determined whether they do actually endure the Torments to which they are condemned: It may then be thought they do not yet ſuffer them, and that the Execution of the Verdict brought againſt them is reverſed for the Day of the final Judgment----* Page 13. *Now what I pretend to infer from hence is, that till Doom's-day comes, God, in order not to ſuffer ſo many Legions of reprobate Spirits to be of no uſe, he diſtributed them thro' the ſeveral Spaces of the World, to ſerve the Deſigns of his Providence, and make his Omnipotence to appear. Some continuing in their natural State, buſy themſelves*

in

in tempting Men, in ſeducing and tormenting them, either immediately, as Job's *Devil, and thoſe that lay hold on human Bodies, or by the Miniſtry of Sorcerers or Phantoms. Theſe wicked Spirits are thoſe whom the Scriptures calls the Powers of Darkneſs, or the Powers of the Air. God, with the others, makes Millions of Beaſts of all kinds, which ſerve for the ſeveral Uſes of Men which fill the Univerſe, and cauſe the Wiſdom and Omnipotence of the Creator to be admired: By that means I can eaſily conceive how, on the one hand, the Devils can tempt us; and on the other, how Beaſts can think, know, have Sentiments, and a ſpiritural Soul, without any way ſtriking at the Doctrines of Religion. I am no longer ſurprized to ſee them have Dexterity, Foreca ſt, Memory, and Judgment. I ſhould rather have Occaſion to wonder at their having no more, ſince their Soul, very likely, is more perfect than ours: But I diſcover the Reaſon of this, it is becauſe in Beaſts as well as in our ſelves, the Operations of the Mind are dependent on the material Organs of the Machine to which it is united; and theſe Organs being groſſer and leſs perfect in Beaſts than in us, it follows, that the Knowledge, the Thoughts, and the other ſpiritual Operations of Beaſts, muſt of courſe be leſs perfect than ours: and if theſe proud Spirits know their own diſmal State, what an Humiliation muſt it be to them, thus to ſee themſelves reduced to the Condition of Beaſts! But whether they know it or no, ſo ſhameful a Degradation is ſtill with regard to them, that primary Effect of the divine Vengeance I juſt*

mentioned, it is an anticipated Hell. P. 17. *Having mentioned the Prejudices againſt this Hypotheſis, ſuch as particularly the Pleaſure which People of Senſe and Religion take in Beaſts and Birds, eſpecially all Sorts of domeſtic Animals; he proceeds: Do we love Beaſts for their own Sakes? No. As they are altogether Strangers to human Society, they can have no other Appointment, but that of being uſeful and amuſing. And what care we, whether it be a Devil, or any other Creature, that ſerves and amuſes us? The Thought of it, far from ſhocking, pleaſes me mightily. I with Gratitude admire the Goodneſs of the Creator, who gave me too many little Devils to ſerve and amuſe me. If I am told, that theſe poor Devils are doomed to ſuffer eternal Tortures, I admire God's Decrees, but I have no manner of ſhare in this dreadful Sentence; I leave the Execution of it to the Sovereign Judge, and notwithſtanding this, I live with my little Devils, as I do with a Multitude of People, of whom Religion informs me, that a great Number ſhall be damned. But the cure of a Prejudice is not to be effected in a Moment, it is done by Time and Reflection; give me leave then lightly to touch upon this Difficulty, in order to obſerve a very important Thing to you.*

Perſuaded as we are, that Beaſts have Intelligence, have we not all of us a thouſand times pitied them for the exceſſive Evils, which the majority of them are expoſed to, and in reality ſuffer? How unhappy is the Condition of Horſes, we are apt to ſay, ſeeing a Horſe whom an unmerciful Carman is murdering with Blows! How

miſerable

miſerable is a Dog whom they are breaking for Hunting! How diſmal is the Fate of Beaſts living in Woods, they are perpetually expoſed to the Injuries of the Weather, always ſeized with Apprehenſions of becoming the Prey of Hunters, or of ſome wilder Animal, for ever obliged, after long Fatigue, to look out for ſome poor inſipid Food, often ſuffering cruel Hunger, and ſubject moreover to Illneſs and Death! If Men are ſubject to a multitude of Miſeries that overwhelm them, Religion acquaints us with the reaſon of it, viz. *their being born Sinners: but what crimes can Beaſts have committed, by Birth to be ſubject to Evils ſo very cruel? What are we then to think* (p. 19.) *of the horrible Exceſſes of Miſeries undergone by Beaſts: Miſeries indeed, far greater than thoſe of Men? This is in any other Syſtem an incomprehenſible Myſtery; whereas nothing is more eaſy to be conceived from the Syſtem I propoſe. The rebellious Spirits deſerve a Puniſhment ſtill more rigorous, and happy is it for them that their Puniſhment is deferred; in a word, God's Goodneſs is vindicated, Man himſelf is juſtified: for what Right can we have without Neceſſity, and often in the way of meer Diverſion, to take away the Life of Millions of Beaſts, if God had not authorized him ſo to do? And Beaſts being as ſenſible as ourſelves of Pain and Death, how could a juſt and merciful God have given Man that Privilege, if they were not ſo many guilty Victims of the Divine Vengeance.*

But hear ſtill ſomething more convincing, and of greater Conſequence: Beaſts, by Nature, are extremely Vicious. We know well that they never

ver ſin, becauſe they are not free; but this is the only Condition wanting to make them Sinners. The Voracious Birds and Beaſts of Prey are cruel: Many Inſects of one and the ſame Species devour each other. Cats are perfidious and ungrateful, Monkeys are miſchievous, Dogs are envious. All Beaſts in general are jealous and revengeful to exceſs; not to mention many other Vices we obſerve in them; and at the ſame time that they are by Nature ſo very vicious, they have, ſay we, neither the liberty, nor any helps to reſiſt the Byaſs that hurries them into ſo many bad Actions. They are, according to the Schools, neceſſitated to do Evil, to diſconcert the general Order, to commit whatever is in Nature moſt contrary to the Notion we have of natural Juſtice, and to the Principles of Virtue. What Monſters are theſe, in a World originally created for Order and Juſtice to reign in? This is in good part what formerly perſuaded the Manicheans, *that they were of neceſſity two Orders of Things, one good, and the other bad; and that Beaſts were not the Work of the good Principle. A monſtrous Error! But how then ſhall we believe that Beaſts came out of the hands of their Creator with Qualities ſo very ſtrange? If a Man is ſo very wicked and corrupt, it is becauſe he has himſelf through Sin perverted the happy Nature God had given him at his Formation. Of two things then we muſt ſay one: either that God has taken delight in making Beaſts ſo vicious as they are, and of giving us in them Models of what is moſt ſhameful in the World; or that they have like Man Original Sin, which has perverted their primitive Nature.*

The first of these Propositions finds very difficult access to the Mind, as is an express Contradiction to the Holy Scriptures, which say, that whatever came out of God's hands, at the time of the Creation of the World, was good, yea very good? What good can there be in a Monkey's being so very mischievous, a Dog so full of envy, a Cat so malicious? But then many Authors have pretended, that Beasts before Man's Fall were different from what they are now; and that it was in order to punish Man, that they are rendred so wicked: but this Opinion is a meer Supposition, of which there is not the least Footstep in Holy Scripture. It is a pitiful subterfuge to elude a real Difficulty; that at most might be said of the Beasts with whom Man has a sort of Correspondence, but not at all of the Birds, Fishes, and Insects, which have no manner of relation to him. We must then have recourse to the second Proposition, That the Nature of Beasts, has, like that of Man, been corrupted by some original Sin: Another Hypothesis void of Foundation, and equally inconsistent with Reason and Religion, in all the Systems which have been hitherto espoused concerning the Soul of Beasts. What party are we to take? Why, admit of my System and all is explained. The Souls of Beasts are refractory Spirits, which have made themselves guilty towards God. The Sin in Beasts is no original Sin, it is a personal Crime, which has corrupted and perverted their Nature in its whole Substance; hence all the Vices and Corruption we observe in them, tho' they can be no longer criminal; because God

by

by irrecoverably reprobating them, has at the ſame time diveſted them of their Liberty.

You have here, Madam, a full View of our Authors's Hypotheſis, the reſt being nothing but flouriſh and trifle, idle Anſwers to idle Objections, upon a Suppoſition that this Scheme is demonſtrably certain. And is it not a choice one, to anſwer ſo many Purpoſes, and ſolve ſo many Difficulties in Philoſophy and Scripture, and reconcile ſo many apparent Contradictions in Reaſon and Religion! Does not your very Heart recoil at the monſtrous Thought? Can you view it in any Light without Abhorrence and Averſion. It was a juſt Cenſure of a very great Man upon *Deſcartes*'s Philoſophy, that if he were at a loſs for Reaſons to oppoſe his Doctrine, that *Brutes were mere Machines*, this alone would be a ſufficient Proof to himſelf, that it was *making a Jeſt of ſo great a part of the Creation:* but this Author has exceeded him with a Vengeance! Inſtead of *making a Jeſt, he has made them Devils*; and in the Management of his Argument there is ſuch a Confuſion of Sentiments, ſuch a Jumble of Light and Darkneſs, Truth and Error, Reaſon and Imagination, that one knows not where to begin, or in what Order to proceed, how to diſentangle Truth from Error, to ſeparate the Precious from the Vile, to diſtinguiſh the cool Dictates of Reaſon and Philoſophy, from the wild Flights of Imagination and Fancy. To follow him through all his Excurſions, would be an endleſs and uſeleſs Undertaking. Our beſt and ſhorteſt way will be to examine the Goodneſs of the Foundation, and ſee whether there be

be any Ground in Scripture or Reaſon to ſupport ſo monſtrous a Superſtructure; if not, it muſt fall to the ground, and leave room for a juſt and uniform Structure upon ſolid and laſting Foundations; which, (if you approve of this) ſhall be the Subject of a ſecond Letter.

In the mean time, Madam, I aſſure myſelf, you will be in no pain about the Event. You are too well acquainted with the Language and Genius of that lively Nation, as not to know that they have Gaſconades in Philoſophy, as well as in Gallantry, Romance, and Politics: You are bleſſed with an Underſtanding too good to be impoſed upon by vain Pretences to Reaſon and Philoſophy; you can eaſily diſtinguiſh betwixt the empty Sounds, and ſolid Senſe; betwixt the wanton Sallies of a luxuriant Fancy, and the ſevere Concluſions of Truth and Juſtice. You have a Firmneſs of Mind too great to be mov'd by the vain Terrors of a frighted Imagination, which are too often the Curſe of weak and little Minds. Continue, therefore, your wonted Care and Affection for your innocent Domeſticks; they look up to you for their Support; from your Hand they receive the ſlender Proviſions of Life, without murmuring or repining, which they endeavour to repay with the ſincereſt Gratitude, the moſt faithful Services, and unfeigned Affections that their Natures are capable of: If you are pleaſed, they rejoice with you; Do you careſs them? They are tranſported with Pleaſure. Do you frown? They tremble. Do you chide or puniſh them? They endeavour to appeaſe you by

the moſt humble Proſtration and Submiſſion. Do not many of them diſcover more Gratitude, Sincerity, nay, I had almoſt ſaid Virtue, than many of their Maſters, who value themſelves upon the Refinements, upon their Reaſon, the Improvements of their Underſtandings, and nice Senſe of Honour? Are they wretched as well as we? Are they expoſed with us to the unavoidable Calamities of Life? They are not wretched thro' their own faults, they are not the Authors of their own Miſery, *they* (as well as we) *are made ſubject to Vanity, but they not willingly*, by a voluntary Abuſe of their proper Faculties, but are by a Neceſſity of Nature involv'd in the Guilt and Condemnation of their rebellious, attainted, natural Lord and Sovereign. *Rom.* viii. 20.

If you are not diſpleaſed with the Subject, tired with the Length, or diſguſted with the manner of this tedious Epiſtle, I ſhall quickly do myſelf the Honour to ſend you ſome further Conſiderations upon the ſame Subject. I am, with great Reſpect,

MADAM,

Your moſt Humble Servant.

FREE

FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

BRUTE-CREATION, &c.

LETTER II.

MADAM,

YOUR favourable Acceptance of my firſt Letter, encourages me to hope you will not be diſpleaſed with a ſecond; in which I propoſe to conſider more diſtinctly the Queſtion before us. I ſhall view it in every Light that Revelation and Reaſon gan give us. I ſhall conſider the Account that *Moſes* gives of their firſt Formation, and original State in Paradiſe, and compare it with their preſent State and Condition in the World; from whence I ſhall draw ſome Inferences and Concluſions, and endeavour to anſwer ſome Objections; and leave it to your own good Judgment to determine upon the Evidence that ſhall be given.

The Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, xi. 3. tells us, that by *Faith we underſtand that the things which are ſeen* (this whole viſible World, with all its various Inhabitants and Productions) *were made out of things which are not ſeen*, (an ideal, inviſible, glorious World, eternally ſubſting in

the Divine Mind) that this preſent temporary, fading State of things, which we call the natural World, is an Out-birth, a creaturely Manifeſtation of the inviſible Powers and Beauties of eternal Nature, impreſſing and diſplaying themſelves thro' all the Regions of created Nature, thro' all the Tribes and Families of the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms, and to which they exactly correſpond, as the Shadow to the Subſtance, and the Impreſſion to the Soul. From this fruitful Womb of eternal Nature were produced in their appointed Seaſon, by the infinite Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Power of the Almighty, the whole Mundane Syſtem, the World with all its Inhabitants, all the Subjects of the Animal and Vegetable Kingdoms, and all the innumerable Species, Tribes, and Families of Birds, Beaſts, and Fiſhes, Reptiles, and Inſects, all that live upon the Earth, fly thro' the Air, or ſport themſelves in the great Abyſs, from *Behemoth* and *Leviathan* to the ſmalleſt Inſect: the very leaſt and meaneſt, as well as the greateſt, are all the Work of God, formed by infinite Wiſdom and Power upon the perfect ideal Models in the Divine Mind. *Moſes* deſcribes the Creation or Formation of the Fiſhes and Fowls out of the Waters as the Work of the Fourth Day. Gen. i. 20, 21, 22. *God ſaid, Let the Waters bring forth abundantly, the moving Creature that hath Life,* or (as it is more truly rendered in the Margin) *a Soul; and Fowls that may fly above the Earth, in the open Firmament*

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of Heaven; and God created great Whales, and every living Creature that moveth, which the Waters brought forth abundantly after their kind, and every winged Fowl after his kind, and God ſaw that it was good. The Beaſts and Reptiles as produced out of the Earth, were the Work of the Fifth Day, ver. 24. *And God ſaid, Let the Earth bring forth the living Creature after his kind, Cattle and Creeping Thing, and Beaſt of the Earth after his kind, and it was ſo. And God made the Beaſt of the Earth after his kind, and Cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God ſaw that it was good.* They were all pronounced to be *good*, yea, *very good*, being the Productions of infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs, formed in Member, Weight, and Meaſure, of the moſt exquiſite Beauty, the moſt delicate Proportion, without Defect, without Superfluity, exactly fitted and enabled to anſwer the various Purpoſes of their Creation, to execute the Will of their Creator, to miniſter to the Delight and Service of Man, and contribute to the Beauty and Harmony of the univerſal Syſtem. Theſe, therefore, were the firſt Inhabitants of Paradiſe, in which they were ſettled by their Maker with a ſpecial Bleſſing to increaſe and multiply their Species, in the ſeveral Regions of Nature, appointed for their Habitation. We may conſider them as the numerous Domeſticks of ſome great and mighty Prince, ſent before-hand to fill, adorn, and beautify the ſeveral Offices and Apart-

Apartments of his Court, and give him a magnificent and triumphant Reception. Accordingly we find, that ſo ſoon as Man was created in the Image of God, ver. 26, 27. *God gave him an abſolute Power and Dominion over them all. He bleſſed them, and ſaid unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the earth and ſubdue it, and have dominion over the Fiſh of the ſea, and over the Fowl of the air, and over every Living Thing that moveth upon the earth.* As Man was thus created in the Image of the Ever-bleſſed Trinity, all the Excellencies and Perfections that were to be found in every Species of Animals in their moſt perfect State, were all in a ſuper-eminent degree in the perfect human Nature, thereby our firſt Parent had an intire Knowledge, and abſolute Dominion over all the various Kinds, Ranks, and Orders of the animal and vegetable World. By the firſt he was enabled to know the very central Natures, and moſt intimate Properties and Powers of every Species, and to give them ſignificant Names, expreſſive of their ſeveral Natures. Thus we read, Gen. ii. 19. *And out of the Ground the Lord God formed every Beaſt of the field, and every Fowl of the air, and brought them unto* Adam *to ſee what he would call them; and whatſoever* Adam *called every living Creatnre, that was the Name thereof.* The Original of all Names was to expreſs the Nature of the Things named, upon which account Names and Natures were very frequently in Scripture uſed promiſcuouſly. And as he perfectly

fectly knew their ſeveral Properties and Powers, and had them all in a ſuper-eminent degree within himſelf, ſo he had an abſolute Power to direct and controul them, ſo as to fulfil the Will of their Creator, in anſwering the End of their Creation, and preſerving the Peace and Harmony of the whole Syſtem. Whilſt they received through him as God's Vicegerent, and their Governour, ſuch Communications of Happineſs, as their Nature was capable of, and their State of Being required. He was their immediate Lord, receiving from the infinite Fountain of Light and Good a conſtant uninterrupted Communication of Life and Bleſſing, which were through him derived to all the ſeveral Parts and Inhabitants of the Animal and Vegetable Creation, and thereby kept them all in abſolute Subjection and Dependance upon him; ſo that he had an intire Dominion over this whole viſible World which we inhabit. To this Original Charter or Commiſſion the holy Pſalmiſt refers, *Pſal* viii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *Lord, what is Man that thou art mindful of him, and the Son of Man that thou viſiteſt him? Thou madeſt him lower than the Angels, to crown him with Glory and Worſhip; Thou madeſt him to have dominion over the Works of thy Hands, thou haſt put all things in ſubjection under his feet, all Sheep and Oxen, yea and the Beaſts of the Field, the Fowls of the Air, and the Fiſhes of the Sea, and whatſoever walketh through the Paths of the Sea.*

Here, Madam, let us make a ſtand, and review

review with Aſtoniſhment and Rapture the infinite Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs of our Almighty Creator, the tranſcendent and inconceiveable Beauties of the new World, the Harmony, the Peace and Happineſs of theſe its once happy Inhabitants, bleſſed with more exalted Faculties, Strength and Beauty, cropping the everlaſting Verdure, the unfading Flowers of Paradiſe, drinking the untainted Streams of Life and Immortality in a delicious Garden, into which neither Sin nor Sorrow, Corruption or Death has yet entered, exempt from Pain and Sickneſs, Labour and Miſery, where the Spirits of Darkneſs had no Power, nor the leaſt Appearance or Shadow of Evil could find admiſſion; where all was Purity, Light, and Pleaſure, the Joys and Beauties of eternal Spring; where each of them in their proper Place and Order were miniſtring to the Happineſs of their Sovereign Lord, the Harmony and Order of the Syſtem, and proclaiming aloud, as it were with one Voice, the Glory and the Goodneſs of him that made them! Such was, ſuch muſt have been (if we believe the Scriptures) the bleſſed Condition of theſe once happy Creatures.

Is there any thing in this Account that ſeems either impoſſible or improbable? Does not the whole appear conſiſtent, reaſonable, worthy of God, and agreeable to Scripture? On the other hand, how mean, how trifling, how unworthy of God, how repugnant to Scripture, is the Philoſophy of thoſe, who ſuppoſe them to

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be either animated by *Evil Spirits*, or elſe allowing them no ſpiritual Principle of Motion or Action, ſuppoſe them to be mere Machines, to have no more Senſe or Perception than a Clock, or a Watch; that though they have ſome Motion, ſome Appearance of Senſe and Shadow of Reaſon, yet it is no more than what ariſes from the Structure of their Organs, and the Mechaniſm of their Frame; that they are therefore no more the Objects of our Compaſſion than any other Piece of Machinery. That their Cries and Complaints, which we commonly fancy to be Expreſſions of Grief, Pain, or Suffering, are no more to be regarded than the Sound of a Drum when it is beaten, or the Noiſe of a Clock when it ſtrikes. Is not this offering Violence to Reaſon, Nature, and common Senſe? Is it not making a Mock of God's Creatures? Sure I am, that the Scriptures and moſt ancient Philoſophy treat this Subject in a very different manner. *Moſes* declares in the moſt expreſs manner, that they have *living Souls*; Gen. i. 29, 30. *And God ſaid, Behold I have given you every Herb bearing Seed, which is upon the face of all the Earth, and every Tree, in which is the Fruit of a Tree, yielding Seed, to you it ſhall be for Meat. And to every Beaſt of the Earth, and to every Fowl of the Air, and to every Thing that creepeth upon the Earth, wherein there is Life*, or (as it ought to be rendered, as in the Margin, a *living Soul) I have given every green Herb for Meat.* On this account it is, that the Scrip-

tures every where repreſent them as Objects of the divine Care and Compaſſion, as depending upon him for the Support and Suſtenance of that Life which he has given them. Hence holy *Job* xxxiii. 41. aſks this Queſtion, *Who provideth for the Raven his Food? when his young ones cry unto God, they wander for lack of Meat.* The Pſalmiſt has the ſame Expreſſion, *Pſal.* cxlvii. 9. That *God giveth Fodder to the Cattle, and feedeth the young Ravens when they call upon him.* So again, *Pſal.* civ. ſpeaking of the whole Brute-Creation, he ſays, *Theſe wait all upon thee, that thou mayſt give them their Meat in due Seaſon; when thou giveſt it them, they gather it; when thou openeſt thy Hand, they are filled with good.* Our bleſſed Lord ſays the ſame thing, *Mat.* vi. 26. *Behold the Fowls of the Air, for they ſow not, neither do they ſpin, and yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them.* And in the *Levitical Law*, God ſeems to aſſert his peculiar Title to every Species, and their Relation to him, by claiming the Firſt-born of each, as peculiarly his own. Thus we read *Exod.* xiii. 12. *The Lord ſpake unto* Moſes, *ſaying, Sanctify to me all the Firſt-born among the Children of* Iſrael, *both of Man and Beaſt, it is mine.* And *Pſal.* cxviii. where all Creatures are called upon to praiſe God, *Beaſts and all Cattle, Worms, and feathered Fowl.* It would be found to have a much more exalted Meaning, than appears at firſt Sight to an unattentive Reader.

But now I expect to be aſked, if this were the

the original happy State of the Brute-Creation, how came they to loſe it, how came they into this miſerable Condition in which we ſee them at preſent? A God of infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs could make none of his Creatures to be miſerable; much leſs would he, by an arbitrary Act of his Will and Pleaſure, deprive them of any kind or degree of Happineſs, which his Goodneſs had freely conferred upon them, without any Offence or Demerit on their parts. They are not properly moral Agents, no Command or Prohibition had ever been given them; and where there was no Law, there could be no Tranſgreſſion; and where there was no Tranſgreſſion, one would naturally imagine there would be no Puniſhment. And yet there ſeems to be an univerſal Sentence of Condemnation gone out againſt the whole Syſtem. They ſuffer in every Article of their Nature in ſuch a manner, as one would think nothing but ſome univerſal Guilt, and intire Corruption and Degeneracy of their Nature could poſſibly deſerve or bring upon them. How elſe comes it to paſs, that there ſhould be in ſome of them ſuch a Malignity and Cruelty of Temper, and in others ſuch poiſonous Qualities, or ſuch hideous Deformity as is quite ſhocking and terrible to human Nature? But the moſt beautiful and harmleſs, even thoſe whom we conſider as the Emblems of unſpotted Innocence, as Lambs and Doves are expoſed to the ſame Calamities, of Miſery, Pain, Corruption and Death, as thoſe of the moſt ſavage and cruel Natures.

Now it is as plain, from Reaſon and the Nature of Things, that theſe malignant Qualities are not eſſential to them, were not originally implanted in them at their firſt Creation, as that from an abſolutely good and perfect Cauſe no Evil could proceed: And the Scriptures declare that God pronounced them all to be *good*, yea, *very good:* Endued with every Perfection, that their Nature and Rank in the Scale of Beings required. Whence then this deplorable Change? this unhappy Subverſion of their primitive State, their preſent lamentable Condition!

I have already told you, that their Happineſs conſiſts in the Communications of divine Bleſſings, which were conveyed to them thro' the pure Canal of the unfallen human Nature. Our firſt Parent, in his State of Innocence and Glory, ſtood in the Place of God to the World below him, cloathed with all the Beauties, and Bleſſings of Paradiſe; the created Image of the ever-bleſſed Trinity; through him were derived all the Bleſſings of that happy State, to all the different Species, Tribes and Families of the animal Creation. This was the happy State of the primitive Earth and all its Inhabitants, till Man by his Tranſgreſſion loſt the Favour of his Maker, and forfeited both for us and them, the bleſſed Privileges of our primitive State and Condition; the Communication of divine Light and Life betwixt God and Man being ſuſpended, he had no more Power to direct and govern the Creatures below him. He ſtood naked and deſtitute, poor and helpleſs in the midſt of

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his numberleſs unhappy Subjects and Domeſticks, utterly unable to aſſiſt or deliver himſelf or them from the Bondage or Corruption he had brought upon them, he being by his own Act and Deed devoted to Darkneſs and Death, neceſſarily involved the whole Syſtem in the ſame Calamity. The Centre of Bleſſing was ſhut up from him, or rather he had ſhut himſelf out of it; his Eyes were cloſed to the Light of Heaven, and all the Sources and Channels of divine Communications were intirely interrupted; he had no Bleſſing to receive, and therefore none to beſtow. He was fallen under the Influences of the aſtral World, confined as a Malefactor to a Priſon of his own making, to be ſcourged and puniſhed by the jarring diſcordant Properties of the divided Elements, to which he had voluntarily ſubjected himſelf; no wonder therefore that the whole Syſtem of Creatures below him, who were his Subjects, Domeſtics, and Dependants, are deeply affected by his Fall, and ſhare in his Puniſhments. So the Apoſtle to the *Romans* tells, *Chap.* viii. That *the Creature*, (the whole Creation) *was made ſubject to Vanity, not willingly* (not by any Fault of their own) *but by reaſon* (on the Account, by the Sin) *of him, who hath ſubjected the ſame in hope*; that is of *Adam*, who was their immediate Lord and Governour. *For we know that the whole Creation groans and travels in Pain.* The whole Syſtem of the viſible Creation ſympathizes and ſuffers with their rebellious Lord. Thus when a great Subject is at-

attainted of High Treaſon againſt his Sovereign, the Sentence affects not only himſelf, but his Children and Domeſticks; and an entire Forfeiture of all the Privileges of his Blood and Birth, are the certain and neceſſary Conſequences of his Condemnation: So that as Man was by his Tranſgreſſion devoted to Darkneſs and Death, ſo were all the Brute-creation, who were his Domeſticks and Dependants. Tho' it was not indeed ſo properly a judicial Sentence pronounced upon them, as a neceſſary Conſequence of their State in Nature, and the Relation and Dependence which they ſtood in to our firſt Parent their natural Lord and Sovereign. They were by his Tranſgreſſion made ſubject to Vanity, Miſery, and Death, but no violent Execution was ſuffered to be made upon them, but in the way of Sacrifice; none of them were to be put to death, but by God's own Appointment to be Types and Monitors of the great propitiatory Sacrifice of the Lamb of God, who was ſlain from the Foundation of World for the Salvation and Redemption of loſt Mankind. No Power was given to Man to murder or abuſe them, to kill or eat them, as we have now, that was a particular Indulgence granted to Man after the Flood, which had ſo broken and corrupted the Face of Nature, weakened and deſtroyed the vegetable Powers and ſeminal Principles of the Earth, that the Herbs and Fruits had, in a great meaſure, loſt their natural Temperature, and were leſs capable of nouriſhing the Bodies of Men,

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upon which God gave them liberty to eat the Fleſh of Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes, as well as the Fruits of the Earth, as we read *Gen.* ix. 2, 3. *The Fear of you, and the Dread of you, ſhall be upon every Beaſt of the earth, and upon every Fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the Fiſhes of the ſea; into your hand are they delivered, every moving thing that liveth ſhall be Meat for you, even as the green Herb, have I given you all things.*

The State of the *Brute-Creation*, therefore, has, ever ſince the Fall of Man, been very different from what it was at the firſt. Some of them are fierce and untractable, preying about in deſart Places, the Enemies and Deſtroyers of Mankind, who yet ſtill confeſs their original Subjection to them by flying from them, and not aſſaulting them, unleſs compelled by Hunger, or in their own Defence: the reſt are in a State of Servitude and Subjection, miniſtring in their proper Place and Order, to the Pleaſure and Neceſſities of Mankind. Upon this view they are repreſented to us both by Reaſon and Revelation, as the unhappy Objects of our Care and Compaſſion, as guiltleſs Sufferers for our Tranſgreſſions: they declare it to be a Breach of natural Juſtice, an Indication of a cruel and unnatural Temper to abuſe or oppreſs them, to increaſe the Miſeries, and aggravate the Sufferings of theſe innocent unhappy Creatures, and to add by our Barbarity to the Weight of that Bondage to which they are made ſubject by our Diſobedience, to put them

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to unneceſſary Labours, to load them with immoderate Burdens, to puniſh them with immoderate Severities, or with-hold from them thoſe neceſſary Refreſhments which their State and Condition requires. The Wiſe Man in the Book of *Proverbs*, Ch. xii. 10. makes it an Act of Righteouſneſs, the Dictate of natural Equity: *The righteous Man regardeth the Life of his Beaſt, but the tender Mercies of the Wicked are cruel.* Where he plainly declares it to be the Mark and Duty of a righteous Man to be merciful to his Cattle; and the Property of an unjuſt and wicked Man to be cruel and barbarous. God himſelf in the old Law guarded againſt this unnatural Cruelty by ſeveral expreſs Commands and Prohibitions in favour of theſe unhappy Creatures, particularly in the Fourth Commandment, the Reſt of the *Sabbath-day* is declared to be for the Eaſe and Benefit of the Cattle, as well as for their Owners; as it is more expreſly declared, *Exod.* xxiii. 12. *Six days ſhalt thou do thy work, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt, that thine Ox and thine Aſs may reſt in the ſame.* And at the 4th and 5th Verſes of the ſame Chapter, there is a particular Injunction to ſhew Mercy even to the Cattle of our Enemy, if we ſee them in diſtreſs: *If thou meet thine Enemies Ox or Aſs going aſtray, thou ſhalt ſurely bring it back to him again. If thou ſee the Aſs of him that hateth thee, lying under his burden, and wouldſt forbear to help him, thou ſhalt ſurely help with him.* And our Bleſſed Lord himſelf mentions

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it as a ſpecial Act of Humanity and natural Juſtice, *To lead our Oxen and Aſſes to watering*, or if they *happen to fall into a pit, to pull them out*, tho' it were on *the Sabbath-day*, Luke xiv. 5. Math. xii. 11. In the xxvth of *Deut.* ver. 4. God preſcribes a ſpecial Law in favour of the Oxen that trod out the Corn, as we now threſh it, that their Mouths ſhould not be muzzled whilſt they were at their Labour, but that they might eat as well as work, and enjoy ſome immediate Fruits of their Labour. We read in the Book of *Jonah*, that when the Prophet had denounced the Deſtruction of *Nineveh*, the King proclaimed a Faſt of three Days for the Cattle as well as for the People, *Let neither Man, nor Beaſt, Herd, nor Flock, taſte any thing; let them not feed, nor drink Water, but let Man and Beaſt be covered with Sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God.* And at the laſt Verſe of this Prophecy, God declares, that his Compaſſion for the Cattle, as well as for the People of *Nineveh*, had diverted the Execution of the Sentence denounced againſt them. *Should I not* (ſaid he) *ſpare* Nineveh *that great City, in which are more than Sixſcore Thouſand Perſons, that cannot diſcern betwixt their right Hand and their left, and alſo much Cattle?* We read *Numbers* xxii. 28. That the Mouth of *Balaam*'s Aſs was miraculouſly opened to upbraid the Cruelty of his Rider, and his barbarous Uſage of a faithful old Servant, that had never ſtumbled or fell with him before: *Wherefore, ſays ſhe, haſt thou ſmitten me theſe*

three times? Am not I thine Aſs, upon which thou haſt ridden ever ſince I was thine unto this day, was I ever wont to do ſo to thee? And he ſaid, Nay. And when the angry Prophet juſtified his Severity to the poor Beaſt, the Angel of the Lord pleaded for the Aſs, and condemned the Rider; *Wherefore* (ſaid he) *haſt thou ſmitten thine Aſs theſe three times? Unleſs ſhe had turned from me, ſurely I ſhould have ſlain thee, and ſaved her alive.* And tho' the reſt have not naturally the Power of complaining in Words, yet have they all a Power of expreſſing their Pains, their Wants, and their Sufferings, which every body underſtands, and which every good-natured Perſon would gladly relieve or prevent.

As for the Malignity obſervable in many of them, as particularly the Cruelty and Revenge of ſome, the Envy and Treachery of others, which the *learned Father* knows not how to account for, there ſeems to be, I think, no great difficulty in comprehending it. The Violence offered to the whole Syſtem of Nature, by an abſolute Violation of the Laws of Harmony, Juſtice, Truth, and Order, an intire Apoſtacy from the ſupreme Fountain of Life and Bleſſedneſs, could not fail to produce dreadful Effects in every part of Nature; all thoſe Qualities and Properties in every Species of Being, which in their primitive State of Innocence and Glory were as ſo many Veſſels and Inſtruments of Bleſſing, were by this unhappy Change, made ſo many different Sources and

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Inſtruments of Diſorder and Confuſion, and the more exalted and powerful they were in the original Frame and Intention of Nature, ſo much the more noxious, malignant and deſtructive they were in their State of Depravity and Corruption; according to that well-known Maxim of Philoſophy, *That the beſt things when they are corrupted, became the worſt.* This will be found to be univerſally true from the higheſt to the loweſt Order of Beings both in Heaven and Earth. The moſt exalted Seraphims in the Hoſt of Heaven, when they left their firſt Habitation, and fell from their Thrones of Glory, found their Fall proportionably deeper, and their Malignity and Miſery proportionably greater than thoſe who moved in inferiour and lower Degrees of Power and Glory; the higher they were exalted in the Regions of Light and Immortality, the lower they ſunk in the Abyſs of Darkneſs and Death: The exceeding Brightneſs of their Flame; the Strength of their Love, and the mighty Powers of their Angelick Nature, whilſt united to the pure Light and Love of God, became, when ſeparated from it, thoſe everlaſting Chains of Darkneſs by which they are bound, and in which they are detained, to the Judgment of the Great Day. The ſame may be too juſtly ſaid of ourſelves, of our own Species. Men of mean Condition, low Parts, narrow Minds, and weak Abilities, if they grow corrupt and wicked, they act with low Views, in a narrow Sphere, and conſequently are capable of doing

leſs Miſchief in the World; but Men of ſtrong Parts, exalted Underſtandings, extenſive Views, and great Abilities, eſpecially when aſſiſted and ſupported by Intereſt and Power, when they degenerate, when they turn Tyrants, Oppreſſors, and Reprobates, they ſpread Rapine and Terror, Deſtruction and Miſery all round them. A little Villain may rob an Orchard or a Fiſh-pond, may ſteal a Sheep or an Horſe, for which the whole World agrees they richly deſerve to be hanged, and generally meet with their Fate; but your illuſtrious R---ues, your Villains of Diſtinction, who plunder Provinces and Kingdoms, who depopulate Countries, who devour or ſell whole Nations into Slavery, and fill the face of the Earth with Blood and Deſolation; they move in a different Sphere, and defy that Juſtice, which if not blind to their Crimes, yet is unable to puniſh them.

And as for your Sex, whom God and Nature has decked with the Profuſion of Charms and Graces, to ſweeten the Cares, alleviate the Diſtreſſes, and heighten the Joys of ſocial Life, if they ſhould ever be ſo unhappy as to deviate from the glorious Path of Virtue and Honour, to degenerate from that amiable Simplicity of Life and Purity of Manners, which is their diſtinguiſhing Excellency, their trueſt Beauty; it is not to be doubted, but their Guilt and Corruption would be proportionable to that tender Senſibility of Heart which is the Beauty and Glory of their uncorrupted Innocence. And however ſtrange and incredible it may appear to thoſe who

who judge of Ages paſt by the Virtue and Innocence of the preſent, which, no doubt, will be a Pattern to ſucceeding Generations; yet Hiſtorians, Philoſophers, Poets, and Painters, have agreed in ſome Repreſentations of Female Degeneracy, which an innocent well-bred Man, who ſhould make an Eſtimate of the reſt of your Sex, from your own unexceptionable ſhining Character, would never expect to find but in Romance and Fable. And that the ſame Obſervation founded in the very Nature of Things, runs thro' every Species of the Animal Creation, is ſo reaſonable a Suppoſition, as hardly to admit of a Debate. Upon which account it can hardly be doubted, but that thoſe Animals, which in their preſent State of Degeneracy and Corruption are moſt ſhocking, deteſtable and deſtructive to human Nature, were in their original State of Perfection, moſt eminently uſeful, beautiful, and good: and by the ſame way of reaſoning one would be tempted to imagine, that thoſe Species of Animals who ſeem to be the moſt uncorrupt Part of the Brute-Creation, who ſeem to have the leaſt Symptoms of the univerſal Malignity which has more or leſs poiſoned the whole Syſtem, whom Religion and Philoſophy repreſent to us as the moſt perfect created Emblems of human Virtue and Innocence; I mean the ſocial and domeſtic Animals, thoſe which contribute to the Comforts and Neceſſities of Life; as Sheep and Oxen, Doves and Bees, *&c.* were in their original State, little more exalted in the Perfection

fection of their Natures, than we ſee them at preſent.

I have often been tempted to indulge an Imagination, that in the original Frame of Things, every Species of Animals were in a more particular and immediate Manner related or united to ſome one particular Part, or Power, or Faculty of human Nature, which might be as it were their particular Element, and in which they might moſt eminently diſplay and exerciſe their ſpecifick Virtues and Powers, as Inſtruments, Emblems, or Uniſons in the univerſal Harmony of Nature. This, Madam, is a mere Conjecture; we pretend not to Demonſtration, but when we quit the Land of Syſtems, to wander in the ſpacious Fields of Imagination and Probability, many a beautiful Thought, many an entertaining Conjecture will preſent itſelf to a lively Fancy, not unworthy the Attention of a wiſe Man, or the Conſideration of a Philoſopher.---One thing however is certain, that in their preſent State of Degeneracy and Corruption, the very worſt of them are but feeble Shadows, faint Emblems, of the ſame kind of Degeneracy and Corruption in ourſelves, in corrupt human Nature. Shew me any one Species of Animals more ridiculous, more contemptible, more pernicious, more deteſtable than are to be found among the ſilly, the vicious, the wicked part of Mankind. Can Apes and Monkeys be a more ridiculous or miſchievous kind of Creatures, than ſome very fine Folks who are to be found in the moſt

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polite Aſſemblies? Is a *poor Dog* with four Legs, who acts agreeably to his Nature, half ſo deſpicable a Creature as a *ſad Dog* with two, who with high Pretenſions to Reaſon, Virtue and Honour, is every day guilty of ſuch Crimes, for which his *Brother-Brute* would deſerve to be hanged? Is a Swine that wallows in the Mire, half ſo contemptible an Animal, as the Drunkard and the Sot, who wallow in the Filth and Vomit of their own Intemperance? What is the Rage of Tygers, the Fierceneſs of Lions, the Cruelty of Wolves and Bears, the Treachery of Cats and Monkeys, and the Cunning of Foxes, when compared with the Cruelty, the Treachery, the Barbarity of Mankind? The Wolf and the Tyger that worry a few innocent Sheep, purely to ſatisfy their Hunger, are harmleſs Animals when compared with the Rage and Fury of Conquerors, the Barbarity and Cruelty of Tyrants and Oppreſſors, who uninjured, unprovoked, lay whole Kingdoms waſte, turn the moſt beautiful Cities into ruinous Heaps, fill every Place with the dreadful Effects of lawleſs Rage, and ſweep the face of the Earth before them like a devouring Fire or an Inundation; and all this only to gratify an inſatiable Avarice and Ambition, to extend their Conqueſts, to raiſe an empty Name, a Fabrick of Vanity upon the Ruins of Humanity, Virtue and Honour. Beſides, the very fierceſt and cruelleſt Brutes never prey upon one another; whatever Violence they may offer to thoſe of a different Species,

cies, which they never do, unleſs compelled by Hunger or in their own defence, yet they ſpare one another; whilſt Man, the Lord of the Creation, diſtinguiſhed from every Species of Animals below him by the glorious Privilege of a rational and intelligent Nature, is worſe than a Brute to his own Species: Not only every Rank and Order of Men are in a State of Enmity to each other, but even thoſe of the ſame Rank and Order, who are united not only by one common Nature, but by one common Intereſt, are as ſo many Beaſts of Prey to each other. Every Man who is under the Dominion of an imperious Luſt, a violent Paſſion, or interfering Intereſt, is a Brute to thoſe that ſtand in his way, obſtruct his Views, embaraſs his Schemes, or any way oppoſe the darling Paſſion and Deſire of his Soul. Look into the ſeveral Ranks, Orders, Societies, and Aſſemblies of Mankind; (the Courts of Princes and Aſſemblies of Ladies only excepted; where nothing but Truth and Virtue, Politeneſs and Honour can find Admittance:) and you will find more Treachery and Iniquity, more Fraud and Cunning, than among the Beaſts of the Field, or the moſt ſavage Inhabitants of the Deſart.---I was once rallying a very pretty Lady, who was ſmothering a favourite Lap-Dog with a Torrent of Kiſſes and tender Speeches; Fie, ſaid I, Madam, How can you beſtow ſo many Careſſes upon that little Beaſt, which many an honeſt Man would be glad to purchaſe at any rate? Sir, ſaid ſhe, I love my little

tle Dog, becauſe he loves me; and when I can meet with any one of your Sex, that has half ſo much Gratitude and Sincerity as my poor *Totty*, he ſhall never find me inſenſible or ungrateful. To ſay the Truth, Ingratitude and Inſincerity ſeem to be Vices of mere human Growth, ſeldom or never to be found among the Brute-Creation; on the other hand, many illuſtrious and ſurprizing Inſtances of Gratitude from Brutes to Men who have been their Defenders, Phyſicians, or Benefactors, not only ſtand recorded in ancient Hiſtory, but are matters of daily Obſervation. And is not a poor honeſt Cur that loves and watches, and barks for the Security of his Maſter, a Reproach to an unfaithful Servant, a treacherous Friend, or a deceitful Companion?---Were any conſiderate Man to take a cool and impartial Survey of human Nature, could he trace the ſubtle Wanderings, even of his own Heart, thro' the many intricate Mazes, the numberleſs By-paths of Fraud and Cunning, Diſſimulation and Hypocriſy, by which the Intereſts and Counſels of this World are uſually directed and ſupported, he would bluſh to find that all thoſe unamiable, or to ſpeak more properly, deteſtable Qualities, which are to be found in the moſt malignant Parts of the Brute-creation, are to be found in a more eminent degree of Malignity in his own corrupt Heart.---But whither am I wandering? Let us return to our Subject.

You, Madam, who judge by Principles of common Senſe, without the Prejudices of Phi-

loſophy, I make no doubt are throughly ſatisfied that Brutes have Souls endued with ſuch Powers of *Thinking*, *Reaſoning*, and *Willing* as is neceſſary for their State and Condition in the Scale of Beings. But how will you be able to convince your learned Neighbour, with whom you have maintained many a warm Debate, and muſt expect many more if you give into my Sentiment, and declare yourſelf on my ſide of the queſtion? You muſt expect neither Mercy nor Manners if you dare to contradict or differ in the leaſt from this great Oracle Mr. *Locke*. To ſay the truth, the honeſt Man without Taſte or Genius ſets up for a Philoſopher upon the ſole Credit of having read his Book, and ſubmitting more implicitly to his Authority than to his Bible, tho' he underſtands them both alike. He will certainly tell you, as he often has me, that neither he nor Mr. *Locke* denies their having Souls, but improperly ſo called; not ſpiritual immaterial Subſtances, but Matter ſo ſublimated and refined, of ſuch an exquiſite Frame and Texture, as to be capable of Thought and ſpontaneous Motion, and all the other Qualities and Properties which in a more exalted and proper Senſe are truly attributed to incorporeal and ſpiritual Beings.

The Poſſibility of a *material Animal*, of *ſelf-moving Thinking Matter*, has at firſt ſight ſuch a glaring Appearance of Contradiction, that it is amazing how any Man of Senſe, but eſpecially of ſuperior Parts and diſtinguiſhed Abilities,

Abilities, could ever ſeriouſly maintain it; and it will puzzle the wiſeſt Man to ſhew what real Purpoſes of Philoſophy or Religion can be promoted by it. The moſt material (pardon me, Madam, I did not intend it for a Pun) I ſay, the moſt material Argument that has been brought to ſupport it, is the ſuppoſing and calling the accidental Affections of Matter, ſuch as Gravitation, Attraction, Electricity, Fermentation, and Rarefaction, the eſſential Properties of Matter, with which it has really no natural Connection, or neceſſary relation to it. *The Coheſion* of the ſeveral parts of Matter, *i. e.* the Power by which they are united and cemented together; The *Gravitation*, *Attraction*, or Power by which the ſeveral parts of the Syſtem gravitate or are attracted to each other, is intirely and eſſentially diſtinct from the Matter itſelf.

The great Sir *Iſaac Newton*, as quoted by Mr. *Locke*, p. 149. who adopts his Sentiment in confirmation of his own, ſeems in his younger Days to have been in the ſame way of thinking. I ſhall give it you in Mr. *Locke*'s own Words, in his Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*. *You ask* (ſays he) *how can my Idea of Liberty agree with the Idea that Bodies can operate only by Motion and Impulſe?* Anſw. *By the Omnipotency of God, who can make all things agree that involve not a Contradiction.* He goes on, *'Tis true, I ſay, that Bodies operate by Impulſe, and nothing elſe, and ſo I thought when I writ it, and yet can conceive no other way of*

their Operation; but I am ſince convinced by the judicious Mr. Newton's *incomparable Book, that 'tis too bold a Preſumption to limit God's Power in this point by my narrow Conceptions. The Gravitation of Matter towards Matter by ways inconceivable to me, is not only a Demonſtration that God can, if he pleaſes, put into Bodies Powers and Ways of Operation, above what can be derived from our Idea of Body, or can be explained by what we know of Matter, but alſo an unqueſtionable and every where viſible Inſtance that he has done ſo.* Now with all due Submiſſion to the Judgment of both theſe excellent Writers, I cannot help thinking this to be a very crude and uncorrect manner of expreſſing a very unphiloſophical Thought, *That God can, if he pleaſes, put into Bodies, Powers and Ways of Operation above what can be derived from our Idea of Body:* That God can either immediately by his own Power, or mediately by the Operation of inferiour Intelligences, communicate what kind or degree of Motion he pleaſes to any part or portion of Matter; that he can exalt, refine, tranſmute, and model it into what Form or Shape he pleaſes; that he can make even the vileſt part of Matter a proper Vehicle, Habitation, or Body for the moſt glorious Angel, who can deny? But what then? What will this prove? Will this juſtify our confounding two diſtinct Ideas? Muſt we confound Matter with Motion, Body with Soul, becauſe we find them exiſting or united together? Does not the very Expreſſion of *putting*

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Powers and Ways of Operation into Bodies, imply that thoſe Powers are diſtinct from Bodies, ſomething ſuperadded to them by the omnipotent Power of God? Something not included in the Idea of Body, not eſſential to it; Why then muſt they be confounded together? When we read, Gen. ii. 7. *That the Lord God formed Man of the Duſt of the Ground, and breathed into his Noſtrils the Breath of Life, and Man became a living Soul*; Would it not be a ſtrange Concluſion to infer from thence, that that very *Duſt of the Earth* out of which his Body was formed, was that very *Breath of Life* which was breathed into him, by which he became a living Soul? Yet would there be quite as much Reaſon and Truth in the one Concluſion as in the other. In the Caſe of Gravitation of *Matter towards Matter*, is it ſuppoſed to be an eſſential Quality inherent in the very Brute-Matter of which the ſeveral Orbs are compoſed, or is it conceived to be a Power or Direction ſuperadded to it, by an immediate Impreſſion communicated from God? I aſſure you, Madam, there are Difficulties in either Suppoſition not eaſily ſurmounted. Would there be an Abſurdity in ſuppoſing, that the whole Syſtem is under the Protection, Direction, and Guidance of God's univerſal Providence, without which not the vileſt Inſect, no, nor even the Hair of our Heads, could fall to the Ground; ſo every particular Orb, every Branch of the Syſtem might by under the Direction of ſome ſuperior Intelligence, who might be conſidered as the

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Angel, the Spirit, or Soul of that particular Orb, whoſe whole Province might be the Guidance and Direction of its Motions. This, I am ſure, is more agreeable to the Philoſophy of Scripture, and the Sentiments of that Oracle from whom Sir *Iſaac* is ſuppoſed to have borrowed his Principles, or at leaſt ſo much Light as to enable him to improve and compleat his Syſtem.

That Matter cannot move itſelf, the reſt or Reſiſtance are its eſſential Qualities; that Motion, or the Power by which any Portion of Matter is moved, is diſtinct from the Matter ſo moved; that every kind or degree of Motion ſuppoſes a moving Power or Principle, which muſt be immaterial; that the Matter moved, and the Power moving, are intirely diſtinct, are Principles ſo plain and obvious as not to admit of a Debate, or a Queſtion. Every degree of Motion, therefore impreſſed upon Matter, neceſſarily ſuppoſes an immaterial Principle by whom the Impreſſion is made. And notwithſtanding all this, to imagine, that Creatures endued with the Powers of ſpontaneous Motion, Thinking, and Volition, as the Brutes are acknowledged to be, ſhould have no ſpiritual or immaterial Principle in them, ſhould be nothing but meer Matter, is to me an inconceivable Point of Philoſophy. Sure I am that Mr. *Locke*'s firſt and cooleſt Thoughts before he was whetted by Oppoſition, and warmed by Controverſy, were very different from what he afterwards advanced in the Courſe of his Diſpute with the Biſhop. He ſeems to expreſs himſelf very

very clearly upon the Point, *page* 159. *Edit.* 8*vo*. *The primary Ideas* (ſays he) *we have peculiar to Body as contradiſtinguiſh'd to Spirit, are the Coheſion of ſolid, and conſequently ſeparable Parts, and a Power communicating Motion by Impulſe; theſe, I think, are the original Ideas proper and peculiar to Body; for Figure is but the Conſequence of finite Extenſion.---The Ideas we have belonging and peculiar to Spirit, are Thinking and Will, or a Power of putting Body into Motion by Thought, and which is conſequent to it, Liberty. For as Body cannot but communicate its Motion by Impulſe to another Body, which it meets with at reſt; ſo the Mind can put Bodies into motion, or forbear to do ſo, as it pleaſes.* Here, I think, the learned Author has expreſſed himſelf in very plain and intelligible Language. And yet this ſame excellent Perſon in his Controverſy with the Biſhop, falls into quite different way of thinking and manner of Expreſſion: He frequently aſſerts, or ſtrongly inſinuates, the Poſſibility of Thinking Matter, and endeavours to prove it by ſuch Mediums, as his cooler Thoughts would never have entertained, or rejected with Contempt. Hear how he reaſons in his third Letter, pag. 396, 397. *Your firſt Argument I take to be this, that according to me, the Knowledge we have being by our Ideas, and our Idea of Matter in general, being a ſolid Subſtance, and our Idea of Body being a ſolid, extended, figured Subſtance; if I admit Matter to be capable of Thinking, I confound the Idea of Matter with the Idea of Spirit.*

To

To which I anſwer, No; no more than I confound the Idea of Matter with the Idea of a Horſe, when I ſay that Matter in general is a ſolid extended Subſtance, and that an Horſe is a material Animal, or an extended ſolid Subſtance with Senſe and ſpontaneous Motion.

The Idea of Matter is an extended ſolid Subſtance; wherever there is ſuch a Subſtance, there is Matter and the Eſſence of Matter, whatever other Qualities not contained in that Eſſence it ſhall pleaſe God to ſuperadd to it. For Example, God creates an extended ſolid Subſtance without ſuperadding any thing elſe to it, and ſo we may conſider it at reſt: to ſome Parts he ſuperadds Motion, but it has ſtill the Eſſence of Matter; other Parts of it he frames into Plants, with all the Excellencies of Vegetation, Life, and Beauty, which is to be found in a Roſe, or a Peach-tree, &c. but it is ſtill but Matter: to other Parts he adds Senſe and ſpontaneous Motion, and thoſe other Properties that are to be found in an Elephant. Hitherto 'tis not doubted but the Power of God may go, and that the Properties of a Roſe, a Peach, or an Elephant, ſuperadded to Matter, change not the Properties of Matter, but Matter is in theſe Things Matter ſtill. But if one go one ſtep farther, and venture to ſay, God may give to Matter Thought, Reaſon, and Volition, as well as Senſe and ſpontaneous Motion, there are Men ready preſently to limit the Power of the Omnipotent Creator, and tell us he cannot do it; becauſe it deſtroys the Eſſence, and changes the eſſential Properties of Matter. To

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make good which Aſſertion, they have no more to ſay, but that Thought and Reaſon are not included in the Eſſence of Matter. I grant it, but whatever Excellency not contained in its Eſſence be ſuperadded to Matter, it does not deſtroy the Eſſence of Matter, if it leaves it an extended ſolid Subſtance: wherever that is, there is the Eſſence of Matter; and if every thing of greater Perfection, ſuperadded to ſuch a Subſtance, deſtroys the Eſſence of Matter, what will become of the Eſſence of Matter in a Plant or an Animal, whoſe Properties far exceed thoſe of a more extended ſolid Subſtance?

But it is further urged, that we cannot conceive how Matter can think, I grant it: but to argue from thence, that God therefore cannot give to Matter a Faculty of thinking, is to ſay God's Omnipotency is limited to a narrow Compaſs, becauſe Man's Underſtanding is ſo; and bring down God's infinite Power to the Size of our Capacities. If God can give no power to any part of Matter, but what Men can account for from the Eſſence of Matter in general: if all ſuch Qualities and Properties muſt deſtroy the Eſſence, or change the eſſential Properties of Matter, which are to our Conceptions above it, and we cannot conceive to be the natural Conſequences of that Eſſence; it is plain that the Eſſence of Matter is deſtroyed, and its eſſential Properties changed in moſt of the ſenſible Parts of this our Syſtem: for it is viſible, that all the Planets have Revolutions about certain remote Centres, which I would have any one explain, or make

conceivable by the bare Eſſence or natural Powers depending on the Eſſence of Matter in general, without ſomething ſuperadded to that Eſſence, which he cannot conceive; for the moving of Matter in a crooked Line, or the Attraction of Matter by Matter, is all that can be ſaid in the caſe; either of which, is above our reach to derive from the Eſſence of Matter or Body in general; tho' one of theſe two muſt unavoidably be allowed to be ſuperadded in this Inſtance, to the Eſſence of Matter in general. The Omnipotent Creator adviſed not with us, in the making of the World, and his Ways are not the leſs excellent, becauſe they are paſt finding out.

In the next place, the vegetable part of the Creation is not doubted to be wholly material; yet he that will look into it, will obſerve Excellencies and Operations in this part of Matter, which he will not find contained in the Eſſence of Matter in general; nor be able to conceive how they are produced by it, and will he therefore ſay, that the Eſſence of Matter is deſtroyed in them, becauſe they have Properties and Operations not contained in the eſſential Properties of Matter as Matter, not explicable by the Eſſence of Matter in general?

Let us advance one ſtep further, and we ſhall in the Animal World meet with yet greater Perfections and Properties no way explicable by the Eſſence of Matter in general. If the Omnipotent Creator had not ſuperadded to the Earth, which produced the irrational Animals, Qualities far ſurpaſſing thoſe of the dull dead Earth,

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out of which they were made; Life, Senſe, and ſpontaneous Motion, nobler Qualities than were before in it, it had ſtill remained rude ſenſeleſs Matter; and if to the Individuals of each Species, he had not ſuperadded a Power of Propagation, the Species had periſhed with thoſe Individuals: but by theſe Eſſences or Properties of each Species, ſuperadded to the Matter which they were made of, the Eſſences or Properties of Matter in general were not deſtroyed or changed, any more than any thing that was in the Individuals before was deſtroyed or changed by the Power of Generation ſuperadded to them by the firſt Benediction of the Almighty.

In all ſuch Caſes the Super-inducement of greater Perfections and nobler Qualities, deſtroys nothing of the Eſſence or Perfections that were there before; unleſs there can be ſhewed a manifeſt Repugnancy between them: but all the Proof offered for that, is only that we cannot conceive how Matter, without ſuch ſuperadded Perfections, can produce ſuch Effects; which is, in truth, no more than to ſay, Matter in general, or every Part of Matter, as Matter has them not; but is no Reaſon to prove, that God, if he pleaſes, cannot ſuperadd them to ſome parts of Matter, unleſs it can be proved to be a Contradiction that God ſhould give to ſome parts of Matter Qualities and Perfections which Matter in general has not; tho' we cannot conceive how Matter is inveſted with them, or how it operates by virtue of theſe new Endowments: Nor is it to be wondered, that we cannot, whilſt we limit all its Operations to thoſe Qualities it had

before, and would explain them by the known Qualities of Matter in general, without any ſuch ſuperinduced Perfections. The looſe Reaſoning, the Jumble of Ideas, the Confuſion of Sentiment, the evaſive Diſtinctions that appear in every Sentence of this tedious Quotation, are a melancholy Proof of the Weakneſs of human Underſtanding, and the mighty Power of Prejudice, Paſſion and Self-love to miſlead and pervert it. Nothing ſurely but a Love of Fame, an Impatience of Contradiction, and a Deſire of Victory, could ſeduce ſo great and excellent a Perſon to depart from the plain and obvious Principles of Reaſon and Philoſophy, which himſelf had in the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt manner aſſerted and maintained. If *Inactivity or Reſiſtance to any change of the State it is in, either of Reſt or Motion,* be one of the primary and moſt obvious Qualities of Matter, which I preſume will not be diſputed: it will unavoidably follow, that every poſſible kind or degree of Motion, all the ſeveral Changes and Modifications that can poſſibly be made in any part or Portion of Matter, muſt be derived from ſome immaterial and ſpiritual Principle, who is the Source of that moving Power by which all the poſſible Changes of State, or Place, can be effected. *Either there is Inactivity or Reſiſtance in Matter, or there is not.* If there is, it cannot poſſibly move itſelf, ſince two Tendencies or Properties oppoſite and deſtructive to each other, can never ſubſiſt in the ſame Subject: If there be no Reſiſtance, the Action of Mat-

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ter upon Matter would be wholly inconceivable, or rather impoſſible, unleſs that other Matter could be moved by nothing at all; ſo that in either caſe, Matter can never become a ſelf-moving Subſtance, *no not by any Power*, becauſe it implies a Contradiction. You ſee then how unreaſonable Mr. *Locke* reſolves the Poſſibility of ſpontaneous Motion ſuperadded to Matter, in order to form or explain the Poſſibility of a material Soul or Thinking Matter, into the *Omnipotency of God, who can make all Things agree, that imply not a Contradiction*; but this implies a glaring Contradiction, and therefore muſt be given up for an Impoſſibility. What then muſt we ſay? What muſt be the Conſequence? Why it is, it muſt be plainly this, that ſince Matter is abſolutely incapable of thoſe Qualities and Operations which appear thro' the whole Brute-creation, if it cannot produce *Thought*, *Volition*, and *ſpontaneous Motion*, we muſt aſſign ſome other Cauſe to which theſe Effects may properly be aſcribed, which muſt be an immaterial and ſpiritual Principle, truly and properly called *a living Soul*. I know you will be well pleaſed to find what I have here advanced confirmed by no leſs an Authority than that of the late learned Dr. *Clarke*, in his *Demonſtration*, &c. Part II. Page 300. Edit. 4. and Page 221. Edit. 6. *All things that are done in the World* (ſays he) *are done either immediately by God himſelf, or by created intelligent Beings: Matter being evidently not at all capable of any Laws or Powers whatſoever, any more than it is capable of Intelligence; excepting only*

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this one negative Power, that every part of it will always and neceſſarily continue in that State, whether of Reſt or Motion, wherein it at preſent is; ſo that all thoſe things which we commonly ſay are the Effects of the natural Powers of Matter; and Laws of Motion, as Gravitation, Attraction, or the like, are, indeed, (if we will ſpeak ſtrictly and properly) the Effect of God's acting upon Matter continually and every Moment, either immediately by himſelf, or mediately by ſome created intelligent Being: which Obſervation, by-the-bye, furniſhes us, as has been before noted, with an excellent natural Demonſtration of Providence: conſequently there is no ſuch thing as what men call the Courſe of Nature, or the Power of Nature. The Courſe of Nature, truly and properly ſpeaking, is nothing elſe but the Will of God producing certain Effects in a continued, regular, conſtant, and uniform manner: which Courſe or manner of acting, being in every moment perfectly arbitrary, is as eaſy to be altered at any time as to be preſerved. In ſhort, the thing ſpeaks itſelf, I dare ſay you require no other Evidence than your own Reaſon ſuggeſts to you; but your Reverence for Dr. *Clarke* as a Philoſopher, gives you the additional Pleaſure of finding him clearly on the ſame ſide of the Queſtion.

To many a fine Lady, yea and many a fine Gentleman, I ſhould think myſelf bound to make an Apology for attempting to lead them thro' ſo many hard Words, into ſuch abſtracted Speculations; but to offer at any to you would

would be an Affront to your Underſtanding. You, Madam, who have improved a fine Taſte by an early Acquaintance with the beſt Writers of our Age and Nation, who can enter into their Reaſonings, and point out with a critical Delicacy, their diſtinguiſhing Beauties, which you even improve by repeating them; you who can find a more agreeable Entertainment in the polite and rational Pleaſures of the Mind, than in the faſhionable Follies of Life; who can find more Delight in the Charms of Poetry, and the ſevere Speculations of Philoſophy, than in the inſipid Chit-chat of a modern polite Converſation, will, I hope, think it no bad Compliment to your Underſtanding, that I ſubmit my moſt laboured Thoughts to your Cenſure and Correction, and even glory in your Approbation.

Well, Madam, thus far I think we have pretty well cleared our way thro' the Intricacies of Philoſophy to one certain Concluſion, *that Brutes have Souls, ſpiritual and immaterial Beings.* Here then let us make a ſtand, and take breath, let us look forward and backward, let us ſurvey the Ground we have paſt, whether we have made no falſe Steps, miſtaken our Direction, or deviated in the leaſt from the direct Path of ſound Reaſon and true Philoſophy; if not, what muſt be done next, muſt we ſit down contented with our preſent Diſcoveries, or muſt we venture to proceed a ſtep further? Methinks I ſee your thoughtful penetrating Genius at a great difficulty; retreat you

you cannot, as a Philoſopher:---Advance you dare not, as a good Chriſtian.---Methinks I hear you ſay, or I am ſure you think with a kind of religious Horror---What then muſt be the Conſequence!---If they are immaterial and ſpiritual, they muſt by unavoidable Conſequence be immortal, which has been generally the Medium to prove the Immortality of human Souls, which has the terrible Appearance of philoſophical Hereſy.---Courage, Madam, never fear, we will purſue this Thought no further than we have the Light of Reaſon and Revelation to guide us; wherever that fails to direct us, we will be content to ſit down in Ignorance and Darkneſs, and it muſt be our own fault, if we go wrong under ſuch Direction.---It has been an invariable Rule with me, in all Caſes, (Love and Politicks, always excepted) never to ſtifle a certain Truth for fear of Conſequences. Juſt and honeſt Premiſes are a kind of loving Things, which never fail to beget juſt and honeſt Concluſions, which being the legitimate Off-ſpring of virtuous Parents, and Heirs-Apparent to the ſound and virtuous Conſtitution of their Progenitors, cannot fail to ſubſiſt upon the Integrity of the Family; therefore, e'en let them turn out, and ſhift for themſelves.

Why, ſay you, will you dare to pronounce that the Souls of Brutes are immortal! No, truly, Madam, not I, but you ſhall pronounce for yourſelf, according to the Evidence that ſhall be given. Pray, what think you was their

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Original State and Condition in their firſt happy Settlement in Paradiſe, when all the Works of God were pronounced to be *very good?* Will you ſay they were mortal? Could any Creature be mortal before Death entered into the World? And was not Death the immediate, the neceſſary Conſequence of Sin? So the Apoſtle tells us, *Rom.* v. 12. *By one Man Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin.* And was not Sin an accidental Tranſgreſſion of the Law of God, a Violation of the Laws of Truth and Order, a Breach of the Harmony of Nature? And by Conſequence a Contradiction to the Will of the Creator? Now, if Death were the Conſequence of Sin, the Effect of the Tranſgreſſion, which we are aſſured of both by Reaſon and Revelation, is it conſiſtent either with Philoſophy or Religion, to ſuppoſe that the Effect ſhould precede the Cauſe, that the Execution ſhould anticipate the Sentence of Condemnation, and the Sentence the Tranſgreſſion? In this view of the caſe, therefore, there ſeems to be a ſtrong Preſumption, that in the Intention of their Creator in their original Frame, and their Relation to the univerſal Syſtem, they were to be Partakers of that Bleſſing and Immortality which was the Privilege of the whole Creation, till Man by his Diſobedience forfeited it for himſelf, and by conſequence for them. Can any Man preſume to ſay, that infinite Wiſdom created any thing in vain? That in the infinite Variety of Creatures, there was ſo much as one that was ſuperfluous or uſeleſs? That he who proporti-

oned and formed the whole Syſtem *in Number, Weight, and Meaſure*, Wiſd. xi. 20. did not intend even the minuteſt Portion of it to be a Monument of his infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs, by contributing to the Beauty, the Order, and Harmony of the whole? And if the Preſervation of the Species was neceſſary to perpetuate the Harmony of the whole, what probable or poſſible Reaſon can be aſſigned for the Deſtruction of the Individuals? I am apt to believe it will be difficult to aſſign any that will not as ſtrongly conclude againſt the Individuals of our own Species, as of any other, and what Occaſion can there be for indulging bold Conjectures, and ſtriking out new Hypotheſes, to depreciate the Wiſdom, debaſe the Goodneſs, and limit the Power of the Almighty, and all this to ſolve Difficulties and anſwer Objections proceeding purely from Prejudice, and Ignorance of the divine Wiſdom and Power. *The Mercies of God are over all his Works.* He made them all to be happy, as exquiſitely happy as infinite Goodneſs, Wiſdom, and Power could make them, and their Rank and State in Nature was capable of receiving; and it is not owing to any Mutability in the Counſels of God, to any Fault of their own that they have loſt any degree of that Happineſs they were created to enjoy, but it is the fatal and neceſſary Conſequence of the relation they ſtood in to their unhappy rebellious Lord, and the dreadful Confuſion which his Diſobedience has brought upon the whole viſible Creation, who were thereby *made ſubject*

to Vanity, i. e. Pain and Miſery, Corruption and Death. *Rom.* viii. 20.

Do but examine your own compaſſionate Heart, and tell me, do you not think it a Breach of natural Juſtice, wantonly and without Neceſſity to torment, much more to take away the Life of any Creature, except for the Preſervation and Happineſs of our own Being which in our preſent State of Enmity and Diſcord is ſometimes unavoidable? I know you do: And can you think that infinite Mercy, who made them to be happy, could, in the primary Intention of their Nature, reſolve to deprive them of that Happineſs (or at leaſt a Poſſibility of recovering it again) by an utter Extinction of their Being? If you or I could be ſo happy as to be able to build a Houſe, to lay out a Garden, to contrive a Machine, to draw a Picture, to compoſe a Poem or a Piece of Muſic ſo exquiſitely perfect that all the *Connoiſſeurs* in the ſeveral Arts could not be able to correct, or Envy itſelf to cenſure, I dare anſwer for you, as well as for my ſelf, that we ſhould be as ambitious to preſerve; as we were to produce them, and think it the higheſt Felicity to be able to perpetuate the Works of our Hands, or the Labour of our Brains, by making them immortal. To build up only in order to pull down, to produce or create in order to deſtroy, in ſhort, to do and to undo, without an apparent Neceſſity, is a Reflection upon common Senſe; and ſhall we, dare we, impute to infinite Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Power, an Infirmity, which a Man of common Senſe would

bluſh to be guilty of? Were we the Owners of Animals, in their ſeveral kinds perfectly uſeful, beautiful, and good, ſhould we not be ſollicitous for their Preſervation, much leſs ſhould we wantonly deſtroy them? But further yet, Were we the Creators of thoſe Animals, had we brought them into Being by the mighti-eſt Efforts of human Benevolence, Wiſdom, and Power, ſhould we not watch over them with the moſt endearing Marks of Tenderneſs and Affection? And can we (a Race of evil, weak, and partial Creatures,) have more Regard for our own Works, than the Almighty has for his? much leſs can we preſume to ſay, that we *have more Compaſſion for any of his Creatures than he that made them*, 2. Eſd. v. 33. And if our own Hearts aſſure us, that we would not wantonly torment or deſtroy any of God's Creatures, it will, I think, amount al-moſt to a Demonſtration, that the Father of Mercies will not cauſleſsly deſtroy the Work of his own Hands, or put an end to the Being of any Creature, whom he created capable of eternal Happineſs.

But I expect you will tell me, as many grave Authors of great Learning, and little Under-ſtanding have done before you, that there is not even the Appearance of Injuſtice or Cruelty in this Procedure; that if the Brutes themſelves had Power to ſpeak, to complain, to appeal to a Court of Juſtice, and plead their own Cauſe, they could have no juſt Reaſon for Complaint: This you may ſay, but I know you too well to believe you think ſo; but it is an Objection

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thrown in your way by ſome ſerious Writers upon this Subject; they tell you, that their Exiſtence was given them upon this very Condition, that it ſhould be temporary and ſhort, that after they had flutter'd, or crept, or ſwam, or walk'd about their reſpective Elements for a little Seaſon, they ſhould be ſwept away by the hand of Violence, or the Courſe of Nature, into an intire Extinction of Being, to make room for their Succeſſors in the ſame Circle of Vanity and Corruption. But, pray, who told them ſo? Where did they learn this Philoſophy? Does either Reaſon or Revelation give the leaſt Countenance to ſuch a bold Aſſertion? So far from it, that it ſeems a direct Contradiction to both. The wiſe Preacher has given us a deeper and ſafer Foundation for our Philoſophy, *Eccleſ.* iii. 14. *I know that whatſoever God doeth, it ſhall be for ever, nothing can be put to it, not any thing taken from it, and God doeth it that Men ſhould fear before him.* And the Royal Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* civ. where he is deſcribing the Beauty, the Magnificence, the Wiſdom of the Creation, breaks out into Raptures of Gratitude and Joy: *O Lord* (ſays he, ver. 24.) *how manifold are thy Works, in Wiſdom haſt thou made them all, the Earth is full of thy Riches.* If then all the Works of God are the Effect of infinite Wiſdom, if every, even the meaneſt, the ſmalleſt, and moſt contemptible Creature, were formed, directed, and eſtabliſh'd in their proper Rank and Order, by the unerring Counſel and Wiſdom of the Almighty; is it not a bold Preſumption to impute to that Wiſdom, unworthy

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and contradictory Counſels? Does it not ſeem to imply Inconſtancy and Mutability in God, that the ſame infinite Wiſdom that made every Creature beautiful, uſeful, and good for certain Ends and Purpoſes, ſhould deſtroy, or annihilate any thing that he has made, and thereby defeat the Wiſdom of his own Counſels, and the Ends of his Providence? This ſurely muſt appear as ſhocking to Reaſon, as it is contradictory to Revelation. And therefore the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* civ. after he has deſcribed in moſt pompous and poetical Language, the Beauties and Glories of the Creation, particularly the Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms, ſeems to lament their Mortality as a Violence and Breach upon the Harmony of Nature, ver. 29. *Thou hideſt thy Face, they are troubled; thou takeſt away their Breath, they die and return to their Duſt.* But he comforts himſelf in the next Verſe, that they are not loſt, their Death is but a Change of their State and Manner of Exiſtence: The original Purpoſes of God in their Creation ſhall ſtand for ever and ever; and whatever Changes and Revolutions they may undergo, they ſhall in due time appear again in their proper Place and Order, to fill the Station, and anſwer the ſeveral Ends intended by infinite Wiſdom in the firſt Creation, ver. 30. *Thou ſhalt ſend forth* (for ſo it ſhould be rendered) *thy Spirit and they ſhall be created*, i. e. appear again in a new form or Manner of Exiſtence) *and thou ſhalt renew the Face of the Earth, the Glory of the Lord* (manifeſted in the Renovation of the viſible World and all its Inhabitants)

tants) *ſhall endure for ever, and the Lord ſhall rejoice in his Works.* As he did in their firſt Creation, when he pronounced them all to be very good, when all the Powers of Heaven and Earth proclaimed aloud the Wiſdom, the Goodneſs, and Power of their Maker, *when the Morning Stars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy,* Job xxxviii. 7. The Evidence that appears thus ſtrong from the Conſideration of the Nature of God, the infinite Perfection of his Wiſdom, and the Immutability of his Counſels, will appear yet ſtronger from conſidering the Nature and Condition, the Capacities and Powers of the Creatures themſelves; As they are all endu'd with Life and Motion, Senſe and Perception, and many of them, perhaps, with equal, if not quicker and more delicate Senſations in the Sphere of Action, than many of us in ours, and theſe freely beſtowed upon them by the overflowing Goodneſs of their Maker; if they were intended not only to fill the ſeveral Ranks and Orders they ſtand in, in the univerſal Scale of Beings, and compleat the Harmony of the Univerſe, but alſo to have their ſhare in the general Bleſſing, and ſuch a degree and portion of Happineſs as they were capable of enjoying: Will any one ſay, it would be no Puniſhment to them to be totally deprived of that Happineſs, and even of a Poſſibility of recovering it, by an arbitrary and entire Extinction of their Being? You and I ſhould certainly think ſo, if we were to do or ſuffer the ſame; and we may, by more than a Parity of Reaſon, be afraid to aſcribe to Almighty

mighty Goodneſs and Wiſdom, what appears a Weakneſs and Cruelty in ourſelves. Tell me not that God may do this by an arbitrary Act of his Will, and be no more partial or unjuſt in ſtriking them out of the Liſt of Beings, than in bringing them into it, that he may reſume a Grant that he had freely given them; and who ſhall preſume *to ſtop his Hand, or limit his Power, and ſay, what doeſt thou?* This is arguing from the Principles of human Weakneſs and Ignorance, the Counſels of God are not *arbitrary* in the human Senſe of that Word, but founded on the immutable Principles of infinite Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Truth, and therefore *without Variableneſs or Shadow of changing*, Jam. i. 17. His Counſels, like his Nature, are *the ſame to-day, yeſterday, and for ever.* Heb. xiii. 8.

It would be the higheſt Preſumption to pretend to limit the Power of the Almighty; yet all agree in this, that Omnipotence itſelf can do nothing that implies a Contradiction; but is it not a manifeſt Contradiction to infinite Wiſdom, to make and unmake, to create and deſtroy? The ſame infinite Wiſdom and Power that brought them into Being, muſt of neceſſity (pardon the Expreſſion) preſerve them in it, unleſs we could ſuppoſe that he, who from Eternity ſaw through all the Poſſibilities of Being, in whom every part of the Creation *lives, and moves, and has its Being*, ſhould ſee a Reaſon for creating at one time, and deſtroying at another, the Works of his own Hands. ----- I might puſh this Argument yet further, and

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perhaps be able to produce ſomething more than Conjecture and Probability, that the very Notion of *Annihilation* is abſurd and unphiloſophical, contradictory and impoſſible; but as this would be leading you into a too tedious and abſtruſe Speculation, I ſhall content myſelf, and hope I have, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied you, with what has been already ſaid upon this Subject.

The great Mr. *Locke*, in his Controverſy with the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Page 148. makes a kind of Objection to what has been here advanced, that has more the Air of Sneer than an Argument. *But here I take liberty to obſerve, that if your Lordſhip allows Brutes to have Senſation, it will follow either that God can and does give to ſome Portions of Matter a Power or Perception and Thinking; and that all Animals have immaterial, and conſequently, according to your Lordſhip, immortal Souls, as well as Men. And to ſay that Fleas and Mites, &c. have immortal Souls as well as Men, will poſſibly be looked on as going a great way to ſerve an Hypotheſis.* Many Writers ſince his time have improved this Thought, in order to expoſe and ridicule the Immateriality of the Soul, by mentioning *the Eels in Vinegar*, the numberleſs Nations, which to the naked Eye appear as the *Blue of a Blumb*, but are diſcovered by the Microſcope, to be the proper Inhabitants of that particular Orb or Sphere; but let them try the utmoſt Strength of theſe Objections, and ſee what it will prove, but the Ignorance and Preſumption of thoſe that make it. Is it not a

more ſurprizing Inſtance of the Almighty Power of God, to form ſo wonderful, ſo beautiful, a Piece of Mechaniſm in one of theſe minute Animals, than in that of an Ox or a Horſe, a Whale or an Elephant? What leſs than an infinite Wiſdom and Power, could form a little Portion of Matter, too ſmall to be viewed by the naked Eye, into that almoſt infinite Variety of Parts, that are neceſſary to form an original Body? Do but conſider, how inexpreſſibly fine, ſlender, and delicate, muſt the ſeveral Parts be, that are neceſſary to form the Organs, to proportion the Structure, to direct the Machinery, and preſerve and ſupply the vital and animal Action in one of theſe imperceptible Animals; yet every part that is neceſſary to animal Life, is as truly found in one of them, as in *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*. I very much doubt whether any Wiſdom but that which framed them, can fully comprehend the Structure, the Symmetry, the Beauties of this almoſt imperceptible Generation, and think it muſt needs exceed any finite Underſtanding to conceive, much leſs to explain, how ſuch an infinite Variety of Parts, and Exerciſe of Powers, could be contained or exerted within ſo narrow a Space: Firſt, the *Heart*, the Fountain of Life; then *the Muſcles* neceſſary to produce Motion; *the Glands* for the Secretion of Juices; the *Ventricle* and Inteſtines for digeſting their Nouriſhment, and numberleſs other Parts which are neceſſary to form an original Body. This Knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for any human Underſtanding, and it may rea-

reaſonably be doubted, whether the Angels themſelves are able to explain and comprehend it. But when we further conſider, that each of thoſe Members are themſelves alſo organical Bodies, that they conſiſt of Fibres, Membranes, Coats, Veins, Arteries, Nerves, and numberleſs Springs, Tubes, and Pullies, too fine for Imagination itſelf to conceive, try in the next place whether you can form the leaſt Appearance, even of a Gueſs, how infinitely ſubtle and fine muſt the Parts of thoſe Fluids be, that circulate thro' theſe Tubes, as the Blood, the Lympha, and animal Spirits, which in the largeſt Animals are ſo exquiſitely fine, that no Imagination can explain or conceive. Can any Wiſdom, any Power, leſs than infinite, produce, or explain ſuch wonderful Effects and Appearances as theſe? *Infinite Wiſdom* is as truly and wonderfully diſplayed in the ſmalleſt, as in the greateſt Works of the Creation, and nothing leſs than the ſame Wiſdom that formed the univerſal Syſtem, could poſſibly produce the ſmalleſt and moſt contemptible Being in nature. I ſay then, *that all theſe Effects of infinite Wiſdom were intended to anſwer ſome end, to ſerve ſome purpoſe, or they were not: they contributed ſomething to the Beauty and Harmony of the whole, or they did not: they were either uſeful and neceſſary in their ſeveral Ranks and Orders, or ſuperfluous and uſeleſs:* Take which Side of the Dilemma you pleaſe, and ſee what Conſequences will unavoidably follow. If you ſay they were made for ſome end, to anſwer ſome purpoſe, that they contributed to the

Beauty and Harmony of the whole, it will neceſſarily follow, that they do ſo ſtill, unleſs you will venture to ſay, that the Syſtem is alter'd, that what was once neceſſary is not ſo now; which would be an abſurd and blaſphemous Imputation upon *infinite Wiſdom*. It will therefore follow, that whatever Uſes or Purpoſes were intended in their Creation, can only be ſupplied and anſwered by ſtill preſerving them in being. If they were created by *infinite Wiſdom*, the ſame *infinite Wiſdom* will alſo preſerve them: If you doubt or deny this, you muſt unavoidably fall into the other Side of the *Dilemma*, and ſay that they were not the Effects of *infinite Wiſdom*, that they were not made to ſerve any end, or anſwer any purpoſe, that they contributed nothing to the Beauty and Harmony of the Syſtem, that many of them are not only uſeleſs and unneceſſary, but noxious and miſchievous, and had better either not have been created at all, or immediately ſtruck out of the Liſt of Beings, to prevent their doing more Miſchief: in ſhort, that they were a ſort of By-blows, Excreſcencies, or fortuitous Productions, with which *infinite Wiſdom* had no manner of Concern, either in their Formation or Preſervation. Does not ſuch a Thought as this ſtrike you with a kind of religious Horror? Is not the Blaſphemy as ſhocking to your Piety, as the Nonſenſe to your Underſtanding? Yet one of theſe muſt be maintained to ſupport the other ſide of the Queſtion. I will therefore venture to conclude, that whatſoever Creatures *infinite Wiſdom* ſaw

fit

fit to produce in the firſt Creation, will be preſerved by the ſame *infinite Wiſdom* ſo long as the Syſtem itſelf ſhall continue, which is as certain a Concluſion, as that the Parts ſhall continue as long as the whole, the Materials ſhall ſubſiſt as long as the Fabrick; and this not only with regard to the Species, but to all the Individuals of the ſeveral Species, which, as Religion and Philoſophy aſſure us, were actually exiſting in their firſt Cauſe or Parent, when the divine Benediction, to increaſe and multiply, was pronounced upon them, and they were declared by God himſelf to be *very good*. Whatever Arguments have or may be produced in Vindication of the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God in the Works of the Creation, will (I humbly conceive) more ſtronly conclude for their Immortality: And if ſo much as the Shadow of a Reaſon can be alledged for their Annihilation or utter Extinction of their Being after Death, it will as ſtrongly conclude againſt the Wiſdom of their firſt Creation. And whether ſuch a Conceſſion might not have a fatal Influence upon weak and irreligious Minds, deſerves well to be conſidered, whether they might not from hence be induced to believe or hope, at leaſt, that they might receive the ſame Indulgence as the reſt of their Fellow-Brutes, and be no more accountable for the Sins of a long Life, the Abuſe of nobler Faculties, the Defiance of the higheſt Authority, the Contempt of plaineſt Duties, and a Violation of the moſt reaſonable Commands, than the poor Brutes, who have no Sin to anſwer for, and would never

have

have known either Pain or Sorrow, Suffering or Death, had our first Parents but continued as innocent as they: What then should hinder their Continuance in being after the Dissolution of their Bodies? Why may not the immaterial Form be disposed of in its proper State, waiting for the *Time of the Restitution of all things*, Acts iii. 21. When *the whole suffering Creation shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God*, Rom. viii. 21. The wise Preacher seems to have expressed his Thoughts very plainly upon this Question, *Eccl.* iii. 21. where he mentions *the Spirit of a Man, and the Spirit of a Beast*, however different in their specifick Dignity and Qualities, yet both equally immaterial and immortal, both returning, after the Dissolution of their Bodies, to their proper State and Centre: *The Spirit of a Man going upwards*, and *the Spirit of a Beast going downward*; that is, the former ascending, the other descending to their proper Rank or Sphere in the visible World--- And after all, where is the Difficulty of comprehending, or the Danger of asserting this proper Assortment of the several Species of Beings, according to their original State in the Order of Creation? What need is there of so much philosophical Refinement and Caution in explaining so obvious a Question? What possible Danger can there be in asserting a Truth too plain to be denied, or what Purposes of Religion can be served in concealing or disguising a certain Truth, in order to establish an uncertain, I had almost said an impossible Conjecture?

Tell

Tell me ingenuouſly, Madam, can you heſitate a Moment how to determine upon this Queſtion? Some learned Men have ſtarted a Difficulty, how theſe ſeparate Eſſences, or Brute-Souls, are to be diſpoſed of after Death. Thus, particularly, the pious, learned, and Right Reverend Author of *Procedure, Extent, and Limits of Human Underſtanding*, expreſſes his Doubts and Fears, Page 173, 174. *They who hold ſenſitive Perception in Brutes to be an Argument of the Immateriality of their Souls, find themſelves under a Neceſſity of allowing thoſe Souls to be naturally immortal likewiſe, and they are ſo embaraſſed how to diſpoſe of thoſe irrational immortal Souls after the Diſſolution of their Bodies, and what ſort of Immortality to conceive for them, that they imagine them all to return to the great Soul or Spirit of the World, or by a Metempſuchoſis to paſs into the Bodies of ſucceeding Animals, and then when they have done their Work at the end of the World, they are to be diſcharged out of Being, and again reduced to their primitive nothing.---Again---If thoſe Souls are once granted to be immaterial, it is utterly inconceivable that they ſhould not naturally have the ſame Immortality with thoſe that are human; ſince we cannot with any Senſe or Conſiſtency diſtinguiſh two different kinds of Immortality for created Spirits, if the Souls of Brutes be immortal, that cannot, when ſeparate, be thought to remain altogether in a State of Inactivity or Inſenſibility, which communicated Senſe and Activity to Matter, while in conjunction with it; and if ſo, they muſt be ſenſible of Happineſs or Mi-*

Miſery, and in ſome degree liable to Rewards and Puniſhments as eternal as their Souls. He concludes, *What heightens the Abſurdity of this way of thinking, is, that in imagining the Souls of Brutes to be immaterial, Men muſt neceſſarily diſtinguiſh a great Variety of them, both in Nature and Degree, one Sort for Birds, another for Beaſts, and another for Fiſhes; and theſe muſt be all ſubdivided again into very different Species of immortal Souls according to the different ſorts that are under each of theſe general Heads. Nay, every Fly and Inſect muſt on this Suppoſition have ſome ſort of immaterial Soul, even down to the Cheeſe-mites; and what is yet more abſurd, is, that there muſt be an infinite Variety of Immaterialities imagined, to ſuit the Rank and Condition of every individual, living, ſenſible Creature.* What a Rhapſody is here! Can there be a more lively Picture of a puzzled Imagination, terrified with Spectres, and combating with Difficulties of its own creating? If the Premiſes be juſt, the Concluſion muſt be ſo too, they muſt ſtand or fall together: If the Evidence be ſtrong for the Immateriality of Brute-ſouls, as I believe you think it is, their Immortality muſt, in my Opinion, be the natural Conſequence: And how are we concerned to enquire what ſhall become of them in their ſeparate State? What is it to us to know how they ſhall be diſpoſed of after the Diſſolution of their Bodies? Cannot infinite Power, which formed them without our Advice and Aſſiſtance, diſpoſe of them in the ſame Manner? This, I think, is certain, that if they are im-

immaterial, and conſequently immortal, if their Souls animated certain Bodies in this Life, and were the proper Principles of their Action, they cannot ceaſe to be active after they are in a ſeparate State, and muſt have a peculiar Sphere of Life and Action without their Bodies, as well as they had on them. Can you, Madam, conceive what would have become of the numerous Deſcendants of the ſeveral Species of Beings, (whoſe peculiar Bleſſing from God was to *increaſe and multiply)* if *Adam* had not ſinned, nor by conſequence Sin and Death entered into the World? Can we ſuppoſe that he who made them to increaſe and multiply, had not made a proper Proviſion for their Reception? And will not, (think you) the ſame Wiſdom and Power continue the ſame Proviſion for them ſtill? Can any Man pretend to tell me what is the State of ſeparate Souls? Where, or what, or how many are the different Manſions and Receptacles of the Dead? Theſe are idle Enquiries, unanſwerable Queſtions, yet does any reaſonable Man doubt whether there are ſuch Manſions, ſuch proper Habitations for ſeparate Spirits, and if for one Rank of Beings, why not for all? And is it not a monſtrous Preſumption in us, *who are ignorant of the plaineſt things, and can hardly judge aright of the commoneſt things that are upon Earth, and find not without great Labour the Things that are before us*, Wiſd. ix. 16. to be preſcribing Bounds to omnipotent Wiſdom, directing the Exerciſe of infinite Power, by our narrow

Apprehenſions of the Nature of Things, and the Power of God? His Objection againſt the *ſame Immortality* allotted to different Species of Beings, is very crudely and obſcurely expreſſed. *Immortality*, or a Perpetuity of Exiſtence in its abſtracted Nature, to whatever different Ranks or Species of Beings it is applied, muſt be one and *the ſame*, however different their State and Condition may be. As for the *Brute-Souls* being ſenſible of Happineſs or Miſery in their ſeparate State, Why not? as well as in their preſent natural State? If they are capable of Happineſs or Miſery here, if they are the Objects of divine as well as human Compaſſion in their preſent State, (which both Reaſon and Revelation plainly evince) what ſhould hinder their being capable of higher degrees of Happineſs in their ſeparate State in the inviſible World, as well as they were in their firſt Situation in Paradiſe, before Sin and Death entered into the World, and they ſunk with us under the *Bondage of Corruption?* But to ſay (as our Author does) that it will thence follow they are *liabe to Rewards and Puniſhments*, requires both Proof and Explanation. They were not moral Agents, nor their preſent Unhappineſs the proper Puniſhment of any abuſe of their Free-will, the Violation of any Duty, the Tranſgreſſion of any Command, or Diſobedience to the Will of their Maker. This the Apoſtle expreſly declares, *Rom.* viii. 20. That *they were made ſubject to Vanity, not willingly*, not by any Fault

Fault of their own, *but by reaſon of him*, upon the Account, by the Tranſgreſſion of Man, *who has ſubjected them to it in hope*; that is, in certain hope of being delivered from a Miſery they had not deſerved, from a Bondage which they had not brought upon themſelves, but were neceſſarily involved in it by the Relation they ſtood in to our firſt Parent, who was their natural Lord, the Sovereign and Governor of the whole mundane Syſtem. And why does he ſay it heightens the Abſurdity of this way of thinking, that we ſhall be obliged to diſtinguiſh a great Variety of Souls, both in Nature and Degree, for the great Variety of Beings? Why is it a greater Abſurdity to ſuppoſe different Species of immaterial Souls, than different Species of material Bodies? If (as the Apoſtle reaſons, 1 *Cor.* xv. 39.) *All Fleſh is not the ſame Fleſh, but there is one kind of Fleſh of Men, another Fleſh of Beaſts, another of Fiſhes, and another of Birds:* Where would be the Abſurdity of thinking or ſaying, all Souls, or Spirits, or immaterial Beings are not ſpecifically the ſame, but there is one kind of Soul of Men, another kind of Beaſts, another of Fiſhes, and another of Birds, and another of Inſects, and perhaps another of the various Tribes and Families of each? It is at leaſt highly probable that it is ſo, and the Appearance of Abſurdity ariſes from nothing elſe but our Ignorance of the Ways of God, and his myſterious Operations in the Frame and Courſe of Nature, and a vain Preſumption that we are competent Judges

of both. This it is that tempts us to preſcribe Limits, and direct the Exerciſe of infinite Power; this tempts us to form Hypotheſes, and lay Schemes for the Operations of Omnipotence, and charge every Deviation from it as abſurd and unreaſonable. And by the ſame Method of Reaſoning, we might, (if Experience did not convince us) as wiſely infer that the almoſt infinite Variety of material Bodies were abſurd and impoſſible. And after all this Appearance of Abſurdity, it is more than probable that this great Variety of *immaterial Souls both in Nature and Degree for Inſects, Fiſhes, Birds, and Beaſts*, ought to be regarded as a ſingular Article in the Harmony and Beauty of the Creation, in the riſing Scale of immaterial Beings. When we obſerve ſuch a wonderful Gradation of Beauty, Form, Perfection and Proportion, in the ſeveral Parts of Matter, through the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms, through all the Species of Foſſils, Plants, and Animals, up to the human Body, it muſt appear a rational and attentive Mind, to be a wide and unnatural Chaſm in the Nature of things, if there were nothing between dead Matter and the human Soul. Let us not then embarraſs ourſelves with Doubts and Enquiries about the Purpoſes and Counſels of infinite Wiſdom, in the Creation of ſuch a wonderful and beautiful Variety of Animals, thro' all the ſeveral Regions of Nature; but ſatisfy ourſelves, that as nothing leſs than infinite Power could produce the leaſt and moſt contemptible

temptible into Being, ſo nothing leſs than infinite Wiſdom has formed and directed them to anſwer the ſeveral Purpoſes of their Creation, and fill their different Ranks and States in the Scale of Being, and that the ſame infinite Wiſdom will not fail to diſpoſe of them hereafter in the moſt proper Manner, to anſwer the original Purpoſes of their Creation. Thus much we may venture to pronounce with Safety, that it is by no means inconſiſtent with Reaſon, that there may be ſeveral Degrees and Orders of immaterial Beings, with different Powers and Faculties, according to their different Ends: And that ſuch as theſe are capable of actuating Bodies, may be diſpoſed of in different Bodies, according to their different Capacities: and when the immaterial Beings are ſeparated from theſe Bodies, ſo that the Bodies are dead, no Man can preſume to ſay that it is impoſſible or unreaſonable, for omnipotent Wiſdom to continue them in being, and diſpoſe of them in ſuch a State or Condition as he ſhall ſee fit. And if partial human Benevolence, if limited human Underſtanding, could conceive any poſſible Reaſon, or contrive any poſſible Means to continue their Being, and their Happineſs in a State of Separation, then it is neither an abſurd Thought, nor impious Hope, that the Almighty and moſt merciful Creator, whoſe Compaſſions are over all his Works, may effect both, ſince nothing leſs than both could at firſt move him to bring them into Being, and ſuch a State as the

the Harmony of Nature required, and infinite Wiſdom ſaw fit for them.

And now, Madam, I appeal to you and to every ſenſible impartial Reader, to tell me what poſſible ill Conſequences can be drawn from the Suppoſition of their Immortality; or what poſſible Advantage to the Intereſts of true Philoſophy and Religion can ariſe from denying it? The Infidel will be pleaſed to hear you own the Poſſibility of a material Soul of thinking Matter, and comfort himſelf with the hope that he with the reſt of his reaſoning Fellow-Animals may be exactly of the ſame Make, have nothing in them ſuperior to Matter, no Principle of Immortality, nothing capable of eternal Rewards and Puniſhments; though he himſelf would eaſily turn the Tables upon you, and prove the contrary from the plaineſt Principles of Nature and Philoſophy. On the other hand, if we could prove to his Satisfaction, that every kind and degree of Life through the univerſal Syſtem muſt neceſſarily be immortal, it would prove ſtrongly upon him the neceſſity of his own Immortality, and quite deſtroy the feeble, the terrible Hope of Annihilation, or utter Extinction of his Being; it would ſhow him in a ſtrong and amazing Light, the abſolute Impoſſibility of evading the proper and neceſſary Puniſhment of a wicked and ungodly Life, the unavoidable Conſequences of brutiſh and vicious Habits, debaſing the Soul, degrading it from its proper Rank and Dignity, corrupting

all

all its Faculties, and rendering it uncapable of thoſe divine Communications which are the proper Life, the only real Felicity of human Souls. But to return,

The wonderful Gradation in the Scale of Beings (ſo far as our Senſes can diſcover it) is not only the Object of daily Experience and Admiration, but is alſo a noble Key to open to us the more remote and inviſible Scenes of Nature and Providence, and to raiſe upon the Foundation of a juſt and proper Analogy, a rational Superſtructure little inferior to Evidence and Strength to a mathematical Demonſtration. As we obſerve in all Parts of the Creation, that there is a gradual Connection of one with another, without any great or diſcernable Gaps between, that in all that great Variety of Things we ſee in the World, they are all ſo cloſely linked together, that it is not eaſy to diſcover the Bounds between them; we have all the Reaſon imaginable to believe that by ſuch gentle Steps, and imperceptible Degrees, Beings aſcended in the univerſal Syſtem from the loweſt to the higheſt Point of Perfection. Where is he that can ſettle the Boundaries of the material and ſpiritual World? Who can tell where the ſenſible and rational begin, and where the inſenſible and irrational end? Who can preciſely determine the loweſt Species of Animals, and the firſt and higheſt Degree of inanimate Beings? The whole Syſtem of natural Beings, ſo far as we can obſerve, leſſen and augment in the ſame Pro-

Proportion, as the Quantity does in a regular Cone, where though there be a manifeſt Difference betwixt the Bigneſs of the Diameter at remote Diſtances, yet the difference betwixt the upper and under, where they touch each other, is hardly diſcernable: The Difference betwixt Man and Man is inconceivably great. Were we to compare a *Newton*, a *Locke*, or a *Boyle*, with that Sort of human Creature commonly diſtinguiſhed by the Name and Title of *honeſt, or very honeſt Fellows*, who have very little beſides their Shape and Riſibility (or Faculty of laughing, which ſome Philoſophers make to be the formal Difference betwixt rational and irrational Animals) to diſtinguiſh them from Brutes, we ſhould be almoſt tempted to think them of a different Species: but were we to compare the Underſtandings, the Tempers the Abilities of ſome Men and ſome Brutes, we ſhall find ſo little Difference, that it would be hard to ſay to which we ſhould give the Preference. The Brute in the Stye, the Stable or the Kennel, and the Brute in the Parlour, are very often diſtinguiſhed to the Advantage of the former, as the more harmleſs, the more uſeful, the more virtuous Animals of the two. Nor has the Difference in point of Underſtanding been much leſs conſiderable. Now as the *Rule of Analogy* makes it more than probable, that in the aſcending part of the Scale there are numberleſs Ranks and Orders of intelligent Beings, excelling us in ſeveral degrees of Perfection, aſcending upwards towards the in-

finite

finite Perfection of the Creator, by gentle Steps and Differences, that are hardly at a diſcernable Diſtance from each other: ſo in the deſcending Part, there are doubtleſs numberleſs Ranks and Orders of Being endued with lower Faculties, lower Degrees of Life and Perception, till you come down by imperceptible Degrees to the Vegetables, and inanimate Brute-Matter; but what are the ſpecifick Differences that diſtinguiſh theſe ſeveral Ranks and Degrees of Being, is not eaſy to conceive. The Scale of Life, like the Continuation of all Motion, the Undulation of Waves, the Vibration of Sounds, and the Progreſſion of Light, are performed by certain inſeparable, tho' diſtinct and decreaſing Communications and Impreſſions from one Part of Matter to another, each of them proportionably diminiſhing, till you come at laſt to a State of abſolute Inaction and Reſt: but what is the preciſe and abſolute Boundary, betwixt languid Motion, and abſolute Reſt, what created Underſtanding can explain or comprehend? Who can fix the direct Point where the laſt dying Sound expires in dead Silence? Who can diſcern where the laſt glimmering Ray of Light is ſwallowed up in total Darkneſs and Obſcurity? Who can determine the Limits betwixt the Ebb and Flowing of the Tide, or deſcribe the ſingle Point which is the ending of the one, and the beginning of the other? Nor are the Boundaries betwixt the human and Brute Underſtanding more eaſily diſtin-

guiſhed. Who can determine the loweſt Degree of human Ignorance, and the higheſt Pitch of brutal Knowledge? Who can ſay where the one ends, and the other begins, or whether there be any other Difference betwixt them but in degree?

Mr. *Locke*, in his 27th Chapter of *Identity and Diverſity*, has, in the Courſe of his Argument, dropt ſomething ſo much to our preſent Purpoſe, and ſo apparently contradictory to what he has advanced in other Parts of his Theory, that I cannot help tranſcribing it. Page 284. Edit. 8vo. *I think I may be confident, that whoever ſhould ſee a Creature of his own Shape, tho' it had no more Reaſon, as to its Life, than a Cat, or a Parrot, would call him ſtill a Man; or whoſoever ſhould hear a Cat and a Parrot diſcourſe, reaſon, and philoſophiſe, would call and think it nothing but a Cat or a Parrot; and ſay, the one was a dull, irrational Man, and the other a very intelligent rational Parrot. A Relation we have in an Author of great Note* (*meaning Sir* William Temple's *Memoirs*) *I had a mind to know from Prince* Maurice's *own Mouth the Account of a common, but much credited Story, that I had heard ſo often from many others, of an old Parrot he had in* Brazil, *duriug his Government there, that ſpoke, and aſked, and anſwered common Queſtions like a reaſonable Creature; ſo that thoſe of his Train there generally concluded it to be Witchery or Poſſeſſion; and one of his Chaplains who lived long afterwards in* Holland, *would*

would never from that time endure a Parrot, but ſaid they all had a Devil in them. I had heard many Particulars of this Story, and aſſevered by People hard to be diſcredited; which made me aſk Prince Maurice *what there was in it. He ſaid, with his uſual Plainneſs and Dryneſs of Talk, that there was ſomething true, but a great deal falſe of what had been reported. I deſired to know of him what there was of the firſt? He told me ſhort and coldly, that he had heard of ſuch an old Parrot, when he came to* Braſil; *and tho' he believed nothing of it, and 'twas a good way off, he had the Curioſity to ſend for it; that it was a very great and very old one; and when it came firſt into the Room where the Prince was with a great many* Dutchmen *about him, it ſaid preſently,* What a Company of White-men are here! *They aſked it what he thought that Man was, pointing to the Prince? It anſwered,* Some General or other. *When they brought it cloſe to him he aſked it,* † D'où venez-vous? *It anſwered,* de Marinnan. *The Prince;* A qui eſtes vous? *The Parrot,* A un Portugueſe. *The Prince,* Qui fais tu la? *The Parrot,* Je garde les Poules. *The Prince laughed and ſaid,* Vous gardes les Poules? *The Parrot anſwered,* Ouy, Moy, et je ſcay bien faire, *and made the Chuck four or five time that People uſe to make to Chickens when they call them.*

† *Whence came you? From Marinnan.* Prince *To whom do you belong?* The Parrot. *To a Potugueſe.* Prince. *What do you do there?* Parrot. *I look after the Chickens.* Prince. *You look after the Chickens?* Parrot. *Yes, I know how to do it very well.*

I ſet down the Words of this worthy Dialogue in French *juſt as Prince* Maurice *ſaid them to me. I aſked him in what Language the Parrot ſpoke? And he ſaid in* Braſilian. *I aſked him whether he underſtood* Braſilian? *He ſaid, No, but he had taken care to have two Interpreters by him; the one a* Dutchman *who ſpoke* Braſilian, *and the other a* Braſilian *that ſpake* Dutch; *that he aſked them ſeparately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him juſt the ſame thing that the Parrot ſaid. I could not but tell this odd Story, becauſe it is ſo much out of the way, and from the firſt hand, and what way paſs for a good one; for I dare ſay, the Prince at leaſt believed himſelf in all he told me, having ever paſſed for a very honeſt and pious Man. I leave it to Naturaliſts to reaſon, and to other Men to believe as they pleaſe upon.*

The Uſe Mr. *Locke* makes of this ſurprizing Story, is of a very particular Nature, and I muſt needs ſay, not without Violence applied to his purpoſe. Hear his own Remark. The Prince, 'tis plain, who vouches this Story, and our Author who relates it from him, both of them call this Talker *a Parrot*; and I ask any one elſe, who thinks ſuch a Story fit to be told; whether if this Parrot, and all of its kind, had always talked, as we have a Prince's Word for it, this one did; whether, I ſay, they would not have paſſed for a Race of *rational Animals?* So far, the Queſtion is properly ſtated, and may be eaſily anſwered. Without doubt they would. But, he proceeds to aſk fur-

further, Whether for all that they would have been allowed to be Men, and not Parrots? Why ſo? Unleſs it were thought abſurd or impious to aſcribe any kind or degree of Reaſon to Brutes; which is ſo far from being the caſe, that I humbly conceive, there is at leaſt a ſtrong Probability of the contrary. And this Story, ſo well atteſted, is no contemptible Evidence in our favour. Suppoſing, therefore, this to be the caſe, the Queſtion I would aſk ſhould be this: Does not this Parrot diſcover as evident Tokens at leaſt of Reaſon and Underſtanding as many of our own Species, who are allowed to be reaſonable Creatures, and to make a tolerable Appearance in the gay World? Is there any diſcernible Difference betwixt the Converſation of this Bird, and many a ſad unlucky Bird, who fancies himſelf a very pretty Fellow, and, perhaps, a very fine Gentleman? Let us, if you pleaſe, Madam, enter a little further into the Compariſon. The Parrot, in ſo ſhort a Converſation, could diſcover but few Ideas, neceſſarily involved in the Queſtions he was obliged to anſwer; but thoſe few ſeem to be clear, diſtinct, and regularly adjuſted; and if we may be allowed to judge by this Specimen, he might have a larger and better Stock of intellectual Materials to employ upon proper Occaſions. *Firſt of all*, It is plain, he could diſtinguiſh Colours, and the Difference betwixt his ſooty Countrymen, and the white Attendants of the Prince. *Secondly*, He could diſtinguiſh Men from any other Species of Animals,

mals, by his calling the Prince's Attendants *White-men*. *Thirdly*, He had Geography enough to diſtinguiſh one Place from another, and to tell the Prince, that he came from *Marinnan*. *Fourthly*, He underſtood the abſtracted Nature of Property, and the relation he bore to *the Portugueſe* Owner or Maſter to whom he belonged. *Fifthly*, He could infer that that Relation implied ſome ſort of Service to be performed on his part, which was the Care of the Chicken. *Sixthly*, He diſcovered that he underſtood the Nature of his Office, and how to execute it in a proper manner, by making the Signals which the Mother uſed to make to her young Family, to warn them to fly from any imminent Danger, and put themſelves under her Protection. It ſeems to appear from hence, that this ſenſible, honeſt, faithful Servant had as much Knowledge as was ſufficient to qualify him for the Poſt that was aſſigned him, of which he gave full Proof in his Examination by the Prince. You will tell me, perhaps, this was no Proof of his Underſtanding; it might probably be a Leſſon which he had learn'd by Rote: But, pray, Madam, is not the Probability as ſtrong on the other ſide? eſpecially as you find, that the firſt Speech was the effect of immediate Reflection without any Queſtion to introduce it, and the reſt were a Sequel of proper Anſwers to the ſeveral Queſtions that were propoſed by the Prince. But you may further reply, that as he had ſo few Ideas to work with, it would require a very moderate

moderate degree of Underſtanding, to be able to adjuſt them properly, and apply them juſtly upon proper Occaſions. True---But the being able to do it at all, even in the loweſt degree, is confeſſing the Point that I am labouring to prove, and anſwers every Objection that has been made againſt it.----Well, then, ſuppoſing this poor individual Bird at the head of his Species, compounding and comparing Ideas, forming Concluſions, reaſoning, and anſwering Queſtions, we may, according to Mr. *Locke*'s own Conceſſion, allow him to be a *Rational Parrot*; and may reaſonably infer that the other Individuals of the ſame Species, are capable of ſimilar, if not equal Improvements, and by conſequence have a proportionable Title to the Character of rational Creatures: On the other hand, if a ſlender Stock of Ideas, a Slowneſs of Apprehenſion, a Poverty of Genius, and Narrowneſs of Underſtanding, be a ſufficient Reaſon for ſtriking them out of the Rank of rational Beings, I quite dread the Conſequence, and almoſt tremble to think what terrible Havock it muſt make in the human Species. How many honeſt, merry, pretty Fellows muſt inſtantly reſign their Pretenſions to Humanity, be turned to Graſs, or degraded into the loweſt Rank of Vegetables! Could you ſteal into poor *Sylvio*'s Pericranium, and there deface the Ideas of his Dogs, his Horſes, his Bottle, and (I am ſorry to add) his Miſtreſs, you would leave an abſolute Void, an entire Blank as could be found in the whole Creation.

on. *Ned Courtly*, who values himſelf ſo much upon his Knowledge of the World, is not one jot richer than he; the whole Furniture of his Memory, (the only Faculty he has to find Employment for his Tongue) was ſtolen from the Drawing-Room, the Opera, and the Aſſembly; and if it were poſſible for him to return his intellectual Trumpery to the place from whence he ſtole it, he would immediately be upon the Level with the Waſps and Butterflies. I have at this time in my eye a Group of ſolemn Blockheads, who have the Vanity to call themſelves *Freethinkers*, without being able to explain the Character they inſolently claim, nor the Title by which they pretend to claim it. I wiſh I had a proper Authority to confine them all together in one Room, with a decent Allowance of Pen, Ink, and Paper, debarring them the uſe of two or three Libertine Books, two or three Cantwords, and two or three Common-place Jokes, upon Parſons, Prieſt-craft, and Superſtition; and I would defy their united Miſunderſtandings in ſix Weeks time to produce ſix Quarto Pages upon any Queſtion in Philoſophy or Religion, written (I do not ſay with Argument or Grammar, for that would be an unreaſonable Impoſition) but even with true Spelling and common Senſe. Could you by any means reſtrain the arch, the witty, the eloquent *Clarinda* from her favourite Topicks of Dreſs and Scandal, you would infinitely oblige all her Acquaintance, by condemning her to perpetual Silence.

Now,

Now, I would venture to ſay, that the Partition betwixt the loweſt Degree of Human, and the higheſt Degree of Brute-Underſtanding, is ſo very ſlender, that it is hardly perceptible, and could not in any degree be diſtinguiſh'd but by a greater Fluency of Language; which, tho' in the main it may be conſidered as an Advantage to our Species in general, yet is it none to thoſe who ſeldom make any other Uſe of it, than to diſcover the Emptineſs of their Heads, the Peverſeneſs of their Wills, or the Iniquity of their Hearts, and ſhew how little the real Difference is (Shape only excepted) betwixt a ſagacious, good-natur'd, governable, uſeful Animal, which we agree to call a Brute; and a wrong-headed, vicious, ungovernable, miſchievous Brute, whom we agree to call a Man; and what Authority we have to ſtrike out of the Syſtem of Immortality ſo great a part of the Creation, without an abſolute and evident Neceſſity, exceeds my Comprehenſion. If both Reaſon and Revelation aſſure us, that in their firſt Creation they were all *very good:* As perfect in their ſeveral Kinds, as beautiful in their ſeveral Orders, as neceſſary to the univerſal Harmony, as infinite Power and Wiſdom could make them; if by the ſpecial Benediction of their Maker they were to increaſe and multiply, and perpetuate their ſeveral Species, before Sin and Death entered into the World; how dare we pretend to reverſe this Bleſſing, to correct infinite Wiſdom, to alter the eſtabliſh'd Order of Things, and pronounce a Sentence of utter

Extinction upon numberleſs Ranks and Order of Beings, created by infinite Wiſdom, to manifeſt the Power and Goodneſs of their Maker, by miniſtring to the Pleaſure and Neceſſities of Mankind, and contributing in their proper Order to the Beauty and Harmony of the univerſal Syſtem? Is not this pronouncing a Curſe where God has pronounced a Bleſſing? and in effect declaring that infinite Wiſdom and Power were idly employed in forming, ſupporting, feeding, and bleſſing numberleſs Species, Tribes, and Families of uſeleſs and unneceſſary Beings? Is it not more reaſonable, more conſiſtent with the Nature of God, and the Scripture-Account of the Creation, to ſuppoſe that the immaterial Forms, the incorruptible Eſſences of the whole Syſtem, notwithſtanding its preſent ruinous and deplorable Appearance under the Bondage of Corruption and Death, are immoveably fix'd in their proper Rank and Order in the inviſible World, according to the eternal Archetypal Model in the Divine Mind, in and by which, as their efficient and exemplary Cauſe, every Being in Heaven and Earth, from the moſt exalted Seraph to the loweſt Vegetable, was made, in which they now ſubſiſt, and ſhall for ever ſubſiſt, in a glorious Immortality?

The Abſurdities that flow from the contrary Opinion, are a ſtrong preſumptive Proof in favour of ours: That all Creatures were the Productions of infinite Goodneſs, Wiſdom, and Power, and could therefore be only created in order to be as perfectly happy as their Rank and State

State in Nature could admit; is as certain as that an infinitely wiſe, and good, and powerful Being, could not poſſibly make any Creature only with an Intention to make them miſerable; and yet we ſee at preſent the whole Face of Nature covered, as it were, with Darkneſs, Confuſion, and Deformity, a Scene of Sin and Folly, of Miſery and Sorrow, ſinking, as it were, under its own Weight, and groaning under the Bondage of Corruption: And dare we ſay, or imagine, that this was the original primitive State of things? Could Diſorder and Confuſion, Vanity and Miſery, proceed from the omnipotent Fountain of Order, Truth, and Love? Muſt we not rather ſay, that we are in a Præternatural State, that the Evils we ſuffer are accidental, the fatal Conſequence of the Tranſgreſſion of our firſt Parents, ſeduced by the Temptation of an evil Spirit, to a Violation of all the Laws of Juſtice, Truth, and Order? And can we imagine that this violent, this unnatural State ſhall laſt for ever? Is the State of the whole Creation ſo deplorably miſerable, as to admit of no Remedy, no Hope of Deliverance? Shall the eternal Purpoſes of infinite Wiſdom, Love, and Power be intirely defeated by the Malice of evil Spirits, and the Infirmities of frail Creatures? Is not this imputing too much to the Creature, and derogating from the infinite Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Power of the Creator? Is not this ſaying in effect, that the Almighty Creator, the Father of Mercies, and the God of all Compaſſions, whoſe Mercies are

over all his Works, is either unwilling, or unable, to effect the eternal Purpoſes of his infinite Love? that the Devil is more powerful to deſtroy, than God to ſave? And after all, what difficulty is there in comprehending, or what poſſible Danger in aſſerting, that all the inferior Creation, that fell with and in our firſt Parents, and ſuffer for our Tranſgreſſion, ſhall at laſt be reſtored to their primitive Happineis, and be *delivered from their preſent Bondage of Corruption into the glorions Liberty of the Sons of God? And why*, (as St. *Paul* ſays to King *Agrippa*, Acts xxvi. 8.) *ſhould it be thought a thing incredible*, that God ſhould do this, eſpecially as Reaſon and Nature pronounce ſuch a Renovation, not only poſſible but probable, and Revelation declares it to be certain? *As for the wondrous Works of the Lord* (ſaith the wiſe Son of *Sirach*, xviii. 6.) *there may nothing be taken from them, neither may any thing be put unto them, neither can the ground of them be found out.* Nothing can be added to their original Perfection, nor ſhall any thing be able to deſtroy it, neither can any human Underſtanding comprehend their eſſential Ground and Root in the Archetypal World, in which (notwithſtanding any Violence or accidental Diſorder in their preſent external Form) they ſtand immoveably fix'd in their proper Rank and Order, in and through which they ſhall in God's due time be reſtored to the Splendor and Dignity of their firſt Creation.

And this, Madam, opens to us a new Scene of Wonder and Love, worthy the moſt ſerious

At-

Attention of a rational and religious Mind, That there ſhall be an *univerſal Reſtitution* of all that fell by *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion; when all that was loſt in *the firſt Adam* ſhall be renewed in *the ſecond*: that there ſhall be *new Heavens* and a *new Earth*, which ſhall be the Habitation of Righteouſneſs. God has plainly and abundantly *promiſed by the Mouth of all his holy Prophets ſince the World began*, Acts iii. 19, 20, 21. *Iſ.* lxv. 17. lxvi. 22. 2 *Pet.* iii. 13. 1 *Cor.* xv. 21, 22. *Rev.* xxi. 1. And if the whole material World ſhall be reſtored to its primitive Perfection; if there ſhall be a *Renovation of the face of the Earth.* Pſal. civ. 30. there muſt be of conſequence a Renovation of all its ſeminal Powers, of all the various Productions of Fruits, Flowers, Animals, and all the different Inhabitants of the ſeveral Regions of Nature. All the Diſcord of Elements, all the Malignity of the Creatures ſhall intirely ceaſe and be done away. All Nature ſhall put off the Corruption, Deformity, Darkneſs and Confuſion of their preſent State, and be reſtored to the Purity, Splendor, and Beauty of their firſt Creation. I ſuppoſe you will reply, and ſay, as many eminent Writers have done before you, that all thoſe Paſſages of Scripture which ſpeak of an intire Renovation and *Reſtitution of all things*, of *new Heavens and a new Earth*, are not to be underſtood literally, that they are only metaphorical Expreſſions to repreſent the mighty Change that was to be introduced into the moral World by the preaching of the Goſpel; that the prophetick

phetick Style, and Oriental Languages abounded with bold Metaphors, which could not poſſibly be underſtood in a literal Senſe, as when not only Birds and Beaſts, but even the vegetable and inanimate Parts of the Creation are called upon to bleſs and praiſe their Maker, and to rejoice in his Mercy, of which we have many Inſtances in the Book of *Pſalms*, and the Prophecies of the *Old Teſtament*. Thus particularly, *Pſ.* cxlvi. we find *Mountains and all Hills, fruitful Trees, and all Cedars, Beaſts, and all Cattle, Worms, and feather'd Fowls*, are called upon to join with the grand Chorus of Men and Angels, of all the Powers of Heaven and Earth, in the Praiſes of their Almighty Creator. And *Eſ.* lv. 12. *The Mountains and the Hills ſhall break forth before you into ſinging, and all the Trees of the Field ſhall clap their Hands.* So *Pſ.* civ. 21. *The young Lions roaring after their Prey*, are repreſented in the form of Supplicants *ſeeking their Meat from God.* So again, *Pſ.* cxlvii. 9. the Cry of the young Ravens is repreſented as calling upon God for their daily Bread, *He feedeth the young Ravens that call upon him.* That theſe Expreſſions are properly metaphorical, is eaſily granted; but that they are juſtly and properly founded in the real Nature of things, cannot be denied, or may be eaſily proved.---Let it be granted, that all thoſe pompous Ideas, and magnificent Deſcriptions which the Scriptures give us of the Redemption of the World, and Renovation of Nature, have a primary and immediate Regard to the human

human Nature, which cannot be denied; yet that it does not, and cannot terminate there ſo as to exclude the other parts of the Creation, is, from Analogy of Reaſon, equally certain. When we conſider that the whole Syſtem of Nature were Partakers of the original Happineſs, were included in the univerſal Benediction, that every part of the animal and vegetable World, according to their ſeveral Capacities, received through our firſt Parent ſuch divine Communications of Life and Light, and Glory, as were neceſſary to compleat their Happineſs, which intirely depended upon his unſinning Obedience; that by his Tranſgreſſion he forfeited for them as well as for himſelf the Favour of his Maker, and the original Happineſs of their State and Condition, from which they fell into their preſent lamentable State of Mortality and Corruption, it is natural to conceive, that as the whole animal Creation ſympathizes and ſuffers with their ſinful unhappy Lord and Maſter; ſo they ſhall with him, in due time, recover their loſt Happineſs, and return to their primitive Perfection; that the Redemption and Glorification of one, muſt neceſſarily be the Redemption and Glorification of the other; that as they, as well as we, fell in and by the Tranſgreſſion of the firſt *Adam*, ſo they, as well as we, ſhall be reſtored by the meritorious Obedience and powerful Interceſſion of the ſecond, which the Royal Pſalmiſt plainly declares, *Pſ.* xxxvi. 6. *Thou Lord, ſhalt ſave both Man and Beaſt.* And by parity of Rea-

Reaſon we may conclude, that the vegetable, as well as animal Creation, ſhall have their proportionable Degrees of the ſame Bleſſing, and be Partakers of the ſame Glory; ſo that all the original Bleſſings implanted in the vegetable World at the firſt Creation, ſhall be reſtored again: When all the Fruits and Flowers of Paradiſe, which were created to adminiſter Nouriſhment and Pleaſure to the Paradiſiacal Bodies of our unfallen happy Parents, ſhall recover their original Tincture, Life, and Spirit, to be the ſpiritual Food and Nouriſhment of the renewed human Nature. This our bleſſed Lord plainly tells us, *Mat.* xxvi. 29. when at the Celebration of his laſt Supper, he aſſures his Diſciples, *that he would thenceforth drink no more of the Fruit of the Vine, until that Day when he ſhould drink it new with them in his Father's Kingdom.*

The Certainty of this grand Event, the Reſtitution of this whole viſible World to its original Perfection, is plainly and fully atteſted by St. *Paul, Rom.* viii. 19, 20, 21, 22. *The earneſt Expectation of the Creature waiteth for the Manifeſtation of the Sons of God. For the Creature was made ſubject to Vanity, not willingly, but by reaſon of him who hath ſubjected the ſame in Hope; becauſe the Creature itſelf alſo ſhall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God; for we know that the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together, until now.* The great Point on which the true Interpretation of this

Paſſage

Paſſage depends, is to find out the true Meaning of the word *Creature*, in what Senſe the Apoſtle uſes it in this place. Moſt of our modern Commentators have gone violently out of the way in queſt of any Meaning but the true one. The pious and learned Dr. *Hammond* underſtands by it *the Gentile World*, in oppoſition to the *Jews*, whom he ſuppoſes to be meant by the *Sons of God*, and by this falſe Key has entangled and perplex'd, inſtead of opening and explaining this glorious Prophecy. The late learned Dr. *Whitby* juſtly cenſures this Interpretation, and has advanced another equally abſurd and contradictory. He underſtands by it the *whole Race of Mankind*, but ſeems himſelf to be ſenſible he was in the wrong, by ſhuffling over ſeveral Expreſſions, which, if duly conſider'd, would have ſhewn him his Miſtake, and led him into a more conſiſtent Scheme of Interpretation. However, after he had ſufficiently puzzled himſelf and his Readers with aiming at ſomething like a Meaning, he attempts to give you from Quotations out of two of the primitive Fathers, what he calls *the ancient and almoſt primitive Expoſition of theſe Words*. After which, he modeſtly ſubjoins his own Judgment: *I differ only from the Fathers in this Interpretation as to this ſingle Circumſtance, that I do not extend this Deſire of the Redemption of the Body from Corruption to brute Beaſts, and intenſate Creatures, but only to Mankind in general ſubject by* Adam's *Fall to Mortality*; p. 45. Now I

muſt needs ſay, it would have been but modeſt and reaſonable in the Doctor, after having entered his Proteſt, to have given us his Reaſons for diſſenting from *this almoſt primitive Expoſition.* And I believe it would be very hard to produce any Reaſon againſt their future Reſtoration, which would not conclude as ſtrongly againſt their firſt Creation. If infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs ſaw fit to produce ſuch numberleſs Ranks and Orders of Creatures, to compleat the Harmony of the univerſal Syſtem, and to ſhare with Man in the Bleſſings and Glories of Paradiſe, before Sin and Death entered into the World; is it not highly reaſonable to imagine, that they are preſerved by the ſame infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs to be Sharers in the Happineſs and Glory of the new World, when Sin and Sorrow ſhall ceaſe, when Corruption and Mortality ſhall be no more, and *Death itſelf ſhall be ſwallowed up in Victory?*

There is one Expreſſion in ver. 22. which ſeems plainly to determine what we are to underſtand by *the Creature*, and may be juſtly conſidered as an infallible Key to the Apoſtle's whole Meaning; and that is, *that the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together till now.* Now, it is plain, at firſt ſight, that the *whole Creation, which groaneth and travaileth in pain*, is *that very Creature that waiteth for the Manifeſtation of the Sons of God; that very Creature that ſhall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God.* Whatever part of the

the Creation, therefore, ſuffers under any ſhape or degree of Imperfection, Miſery, Corruption, and Mortality, may be juſtly conſidered as *groaning and travailing in pain*, and by conſequence as Candidates for Redemption and Immortality. Now, as it is plain, that no one part of the Creation is exempted from *the Bondage of Corruption*; ſo it ſeems equally plain, that no one part ſhall be excluded from the *Univerſal Deliverance*, and that the Redemption from the Curſe, muſt be as univerſal as the Curſe itſelf; ſo that whatever ſuffers by the Fall, ſhall be reſtored at laſt *into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God*. And this may help us to an eaſy Explanation of an Expreſſion, that cannot otherwiſe be eaſily reconciled to the ordinary Forms of Speech. The Paſſage is *Mark* xvi. 15. where the Apoſtles are commanded *to preach the Goſpel to every Creature*; from whence ſome of the Legendary Writers of the Church of *Rome* have juſtified the Preachments of their Saints to the Birds, Beaſts, and Fiſhes, and thereby given the Precept a ridiculous Turn, and furniſhed occaſion of Mirth and Deriſion to Infidels and Fools: But in this View it appears capable of a plain and natural Meaning. *Go ye forth into all the World, and preach a joyful Meſſage of Redemption to the whole Creation.* And I muſt needs ſay, it has often puzzled me to think, why the ſame Expreſſion in the Original ſhould be thus differently rendered in *Engliſh*, ſo as to be called *every Creature* in one place, and *the whole*

Creation in another; which, tho' really and truly the ſame thing, yet have a quite different manner of Appearance in the different manner of Expreſſion; but on my Principles eaſily reconciled.-----Accordingly I ſhall endeavour to give you a plain and natural Paraphraſe of this famous Paſſage in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, ch. viii. ver. 19, 20, 21, 22. without troubling you with critical Remarks upon the Original, or Authorities from the Ancients, both which concur to eſtabliſh the Truth for which I am contending.-----" The Struggles and Diſ-
" treſſes of every part of the viſible Creation
" are ſtrong Indications of a univerſal Dege-
" neracy and Curſe, from which they ſeem to
" labour and ſigh for Deliverance, and which
" they ſhall certainly obtain at the glorious Ap-
" pearance of their great Redeemer, who ſhall
" come in the Glory of his Father, and of his
" holy Angels, and all his Saints with him, to
" triumph over Sin and Death, to repair the
" Ruins of fallen Nature, and eſtabliſh the
" Kingdom of God upon this very Earth, in
" which his Will ſhall be done as it is in Hea-
" ven. For the Vanity and Miſery under
" which they now groan, was not the effect
" of any voluntary Guilt or Tranſgreſſion
" of their own, but was brought upon them
" by the Tranſgreſſion of our firſt Parents, but
" under a ſure and certain Hope of Redemp-
" tion, by the all-ſufficient Merits and Inter-
" ceſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is
" their Saviour as well as ours; when he ſhall
" have

" have accompliſh'd the Number of his Elect,
" and begun to eſtabliſh his Kingdom: Then
" ſhall the whole viſible Creation that fell un-
" der the Curſe by the Sin of Man, be reſtored
" with the human Nature, and with and
" through him be Partakers of the Bleſſings
" and Glories of the Kingdom of God. At
" preſent we ſee the whole Creation ſubject to
" Vanity and Death, from which, like a
" Woman in Travail, it labours to be delivered,
" but has not Strength to bring forth, nor can
" hope for Deliverance till that happy Day
" when the great Redeemer ſhall reſtore what-
" ever has been decayed, ſhall create new
" Heavens and a new Earth, where Sin and
" Death can have no place, where Evil cannot
" enter, but God ſhall be All-in-All."

That the Brute-Creation are particularly intereſted in this great Event, is plainly and fully atteſted by many remarkable Prophecies of the *Old Teſtament*. Thus, *Eſ.* xi. 6, 7, 8, 9. ſpeaking of the peaceful and glorious Reign of the Meſſiah, illuſtrates it in a particular manner, by the Harmony that ſhall be reſtored thro' the whole animal Creation. *The Wolf alſo ſhall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard ſhall lie down with the Kid, and the Calf and the young Lion and the Fatling together, and a little Child ſhall lead them. And the Cow and the Bear ſhall feed, their Young-ones ſhall lie down together, and the Lion ſhall eat ſtraw like the Ox. And the ſucking Child ſhall play on the Hole of the Aſp, and the weaned Child ſhall*

put

put his Hand on the Cockatrice Den: They ſhall not hurt nor deſtroy in all my holy Mountain: For the Earth ſhall be full of the Knowledge of the Lord, as the Waters cover the Sea. So again, Ch. lxv. 25. *The Wolf and the Lamb ſhall feed together, and the Lion ſhall eat Straw like the Bullock, and Duſt ſhall be the Serpent's Meat; they ſhall not hurt nor deſtroy in all my holy Mountain, ſaith the Lord.* The Prophet *Hoſea* foretels the ſame thing, Ch. ii. 18. *In that day will I make a Covenant for them with the Beaſts of the Field, and with the Fowls of Heaven, and with the Creeping Things of the Ground,* who ſhall loſe their Malignity, which was employed to ſcourge and puniſh their rebellious Lord; all the Enmity of the Creatures ſhall ceaſe; the divided Properties, the diſcordant Motions of the Elements ſhall be intirely ſwallowed up in univerſal Harmony, Peace, and Love. *And the Glory of the Lord ſhall endure for ever: The Lord ſhall rejoice in his Works.* Pſ. civ. 51.

Pardon me, Madam: The Nature of my Subject has inſenſibly drawn me into a greater Length, more ſerious Enquiries, and grave Concluſions, than I at firſt intended; for which an indifferent Reader wonld expect an Apology, and which, to any body but yourſelf, I ſhould think myſelf obliged to offer: But your inquiſitive Genius, your rational Head, and benevolent Heart, I truſt, will eaſily excuſe, if you cannot intirely approve a well-meant Attempt

to

to vindicate the Wiſdom of Providence in the Works of the Creation, and reſcue ſo great a part of God's Creatures from the rude Cenſures of weak and ignorant Pretenders to Philoſophy. If I have, in any degree, done Juſtice to my Subject, if I have given you any Light and Satisfaction in this momentous Queſtion, your Approbation will give me a Pleaſure equal to the Regard I have for your Perſon, and the Eſteem I have for your Judgment: But, if the worſt I fear ſhould happen, ſhould you think I have undertaken a defenceleſs Cauſe, or betrayed it by an injudicious Management; ſhould you even tell me, I have miſtaken the State of the Queſtion, or offered any thing weak or inconcluſive in defence of it, even there I ſhould humbly hope for your Indulgence, that the Honeſty of my Heart may attone for the Weakneſs of my Head; the Goodneſs of my Intention, for the Defects of my Underſtanding: For whatever Cauſe I may have given you to condemn my Sentiments, or deſpiſe my Judgment, I ſhall never give you any to ſuſpect my Sincerity, when I profeſs myſelf, with the higheſt Eſteem and Regard,

MADAM,

Ripon,
Nov. 24,
1742.

Your Faithful and Obedient

Humble Servant.

FINIS.

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